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THE

WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOSEPH ADDISON,

A NEW EDITION,

WITH NOTES

BY RICHARD HURD, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

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THE

FREEHOLDER.

THE

FREEHOLDER.

No. 1. FRIDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1715.

Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet.
TACIT.

THE arguments of an author lose a great deal of their weight, when we are persuaded that he only writes for argument's sake, and has no real concern in the cause which he espouses. This is the case of one, who draws

* It is but justice to a great writer, to distinguish between his hasty, and his deliberate compositions; between such of his works, as he had planned at his leisure, and finished with care, and such as he was called upon to furnish, on the sudden, not with a view to his own fame, but to the discharge of some occasional duty, which, a present emergency, or his character and station in life, imposed upon him. Such was apparently the case of the *Freeholder;* a set of periodical essays, undertaken in the heat of the rebellion in 1715, and with the best purpose of reconciling an abused people to the new succession; at a time when the writer was deeply engaged in public business, and had scarce the leisure to produce these papers so fast, as they were demanded from him. For it was important, in that conjuncture, that the minds of men should be calmed and softened by some immediate applications; and the general good taste of that age, made it expedient that such applications should be administered, not by an ordinary hand, but by the most polite and popular of our writers.

If these considerations be allowed their just weight, *The Freeholder* will be read with pleasure, and must even be thought to do no small credit to it's author, though it be not always written with that force, or polished every where up to that perfect grace, which we admire so much in the *Tatler, Spectator,* and *Guardian.*

his pen in the defence of property, without having any; except, perhaps, in the copy of a libel, or a ballad. One is apt to suspect, that the passion for liberty, which appears in a Grub-street patriot, arises only from his apprehensions of a gaol; and that, whatever he may pretend, he does not write to secure, but to get something of his own. Should the government be overturned, he has nothing to lose but an old standish.

I question not but the reader will conceive a respect for the author of this paper, from the title of it; since he may be sure, I am so considerable a man, that I cannot have less than forty shillings a year.

I have rather chosen this title than any other, because it is what I most glory in, and what most effectually calls to my mind the happiness of that government under which I live. As a British freeholder, I should not scruple taking place of a French marquis; and when I see one of my countrymen amusing himself in his little cabbage-garden, I naturally look upon him as a greater person than the owner of the richest vineyard in Champagne.

The House of Commons is the representative of men in my condition. I consider myself as one who[a] give my consent to every law which passes: a freeholder in our government being of the nature of a citizen of Rome in that famous commonwealth; who, by the election of a tribune, had a kind of remote voice in every law that was enacted. So that a freeholder is but one remove from a legislator, and for that reason ought to stand up in the defence of those laws, which are in some degree of his own making. For such is the nature of our happy constitution, that the bulk of the people virtually give their approbation to every thing they are bound to obey, and prescribe to themselves those rules by which they are to walk.

At the same time that I declare I am a freeholder, I do not exclude myself from any other title. A free-

[a] *Who*, refers to, *one*, and not to *I*. He should then have said—*who gives his* consent.

holder may be either a voter, or a knight of the shire; a wit, or a fox-hunter; a scholar, or a soldier; an alderman, or a courtier; a patriot, or a stock-jobber. But I chuse to be distinguished by this denomination, as the freeholder is the basis of all other titles. Dignities may be grafted upon it; but this is the substantial stock, that conveys to them their life, taste, and beauty; and, without which, they are no more than blossoms, that would fall away with every shake of wind.[a]

And here I cannot but take occasion to congratulate my country upon the increase of this happy tribe of men, since, by the wisdom of the present parliament, I find the race of freeholders spreading into the remotest corners of the island. I mean that act which passed in the late session for the encouragement of loyalty in Scotland: by which it is provided, 'That all and every vassal and vassals in Scotland, who shall continue peaceable, and in dutiful allegiance to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, holding lands or tenements of any offender (guilty of high-treason) who holds such lands or tenements immediately of the crown, shall be vested and seized, and are hereby enacted and ordained to hold the said lands or tenements of his majesty, his heirs, and successors, in fee and heritage for ever, by such manner of holding, as any such offender held such lands or tenements of the crown,' &c.

By this means it will be in the power of a Highlander to be at all times a good tenant, without being a rebel; and to deserve the character of a faithful servant, without thinking himself obliged to follow his master to the gallows.

How can we sufficiently extol the goodness of his present majesty, who is not willing to have a single slave in his dominions! or enough to rejoice in the exercise of that loyalty, which, instead of betraying a man into the most ignominious servitude, (as it does in some

[a] *Shake of wind.*] Better, *blast*, or, *breath*.—We say, a *shake* in music, but in nothing else.

of our neighbouring kingdoms) entitles him to the highest privileges of freedom and property! It is now to be hoped, that we shall have few vassals, but to the laws of our country.

When these men have a taste of property, they will naturally love that constitution from which they derive so great a blessing. There is an unspeakable pleasure in calling any thing one's own. A freehold, though it be but in ice and snow, will make the owner pleased in the possession, and stout in the defence of it; and is a very proper reward of our allegiance to our present king, who (by an unparalleled instance of goodness in a sovereign, and infatuation in subjects) contends for the freedom of his people against themselves; and will not suffer many of them to fall into a state of slavery, which they are bent upon with so much eagerness and obstinacy.

A freeholder of Great-Britain is bred with an aversion to every thing that tends to bring him under a subjection to the arbitrary will of another. Of this we find frequent instances in all our histories; where the persons, whose characters are the most amiable, and strike us with the highest veneration, are those who stood up manfully against the invasions of civil liberty, and the complicated tyranny which popery imposes upon our bodies, our fortunes, and our minds. What a despicable figure then must the present mock-patriots make in the eyes of posterity, who venture to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for the ruin of those civil rights which their ancestors rather than part with, chose to be cut to pieces in the field of battle? And what an opinion will after-ages entertain of their religion who bid fair for a gibbet, by endeavouring to bring in a superstition, which their forefathers perished in flames to keep out?

But how instructive soever the folly of these men may prove to future times, it will be my business more immediately to consult the happiness of the age in which I live. And since so many profligate writers have endeavoured to varnish over a bad cause, I shall do all in

my power to recommend a good one, which, indeed, requires no more than barely to explain what it is. While many of my gallant countrymen are employed in pursuing rebels half discomfited through the consciousness of their guilt, I shall labour to improve those victories to the good of my fellow-subjects; by carrying on our successes over the minds of men, and by reconciling them to the cause of their king, their country, and their religion.

To this end, I shall in the course of this paper (to be published every Monday and Friday) endeavour to open the eyes of my countrymen to their own interest, to shew them the privileges of an English freeholder, which they enjoy in common with myself, and to make them sensible how these blessings are secured to us by his majesty's title, his administration, and his personal character.

I have only one request to make to my readers, that they will peruse these papers with the same candour and impartiality in which they are written; and shall hope for no other prepossession in favour of them, than what one would think should be natural to every man, a desire to be happy, and a good will towards those, who are the instruments of making them so.

No. 2. MONDAY, DECEMBER 26.

Non de domino, sed de parente loquimur. Intelligamus ergo bona nostra, dignosque nos illius usu probemus; atque identidem cogitemus, si majus principibus præstemus obsequium, qui servitute civium, quam qui libertate lætantur. PLIN.

HAVING in my first paper set forth the happiness of my station as a freeholder of Great Britain, and the nature of that property which is secured to me by the laws of my country; I cannot forbear considering, in the next place, that person who is intrusted with the guardian-

ship and execution of those laws. I have lived in one reign, when the prince, instead of invigorating the laws of our country, or giving them their proper course, assumed a power of dispensing with them: and in another, when the sovereign was flattered by a set of men into a persuasion, that the regal authority was unlimited and uncircumscribed. In either of these cases, good laws are at best but a dead letter; and, by shewing the people how happy they ought to be, only serve to aggravate the sense of their oppressions.

We have the pleasure at this time to see a king upon the throne who hath too much goodness to wish for any power, that does not enable him to promote the welfare of his subjects; and too much wisdom to look upon those as his friends, who would make their court to him by the profession of an obedience, which they never practised, and which has always proved fatal to those princes, who have put it to the trial. His majesty gave a proof of his sovereign virtues, before he came to the exercise of them in this kingdom. His inclination to justice led him to rule his German subjects in the same manner, that our constitution directs him to govern the English. He regarded those which are our civil liberties, as the natural rights of mankind; and therefore indulged them to a people, who pleaded no other claim to them than from his known goodness and humanity. This experience of a good prince, before we had the happiness to enjoy him, must give great satisfaction to every thinking man, who considers how apt sovereignty is to deprave human nature; and how many of our own princes made very ill figures upon the throne, who, before they ascended it, were the favourites of the people.

What gives us the greatest security in the conduct of so excellent a prince is, that consistency of behaviour, whereby he inflexibly pursues those measures which appear the most just and equitable. As he hath the character of being the most prudent in laying proper schemes; he is no less remarkable for being steady in accomplishing what he has once concerted. Indeed, if

we look into the history of his present majesty, and reflect upon that wonderful series of successes which have attended him, I think they cannot be ascribed to any thing so much as to his uniformity and firmness of mind, which has always discovered itself in his proceedings. It was by this that he surmounted those many difficulties which lay in the way to his succession; and by which, we have reason to hope, he will daily make all opposition fall before him. The fickle and unsteady politics of our late British monarchs, have been the perpetual source of those dissensions and animosities which have made the nation unhappy: whereas the constant and unshaken temper of his present majesty, must have a natural tendency to the peace of his government, and the unanimity of his people.

Whilst I am enumerating the public virtues of our sovereign, which are so conducive to the advantage of those who are to obey him, I cannot but take notice, that his majesty was bred up from his infancy with a love to this our nation, under a princess, who was the most accomplished woman of her age, and particularly famous for her affection to the English. Our countrymen were dear to him, before there was any prospect of their being his subjects; and every one knows, that nothing recommended a man so much to the distinguishing civilities of his court, as the being born in Great Britain.

To the fame of his majesty's civil virtues, we may add the reputation he has acquired by his martial achievements. It is observed by Sir William Temple, that the English are particularly fond of a king who is valiant: upon which account his majesty has a title to all the esteem that can be paid the most warlike prince; though at the same time, for the good of his subjects, he studies to decline all occasions of military glory: and chuses rather to be distinguished as the father, than as the captain of his people. I am glad his rebellious subjects are too inconsiderable to put him upon exerting that courage and conduct, which raised him so great a reputation in Hungary and the Morea, when he

fought against the enemies of Christianity; and in Germany and Flanders, where he commanded against the great disturber of the peace of Europe. One would think there was reason for the opinion of those, who make personal courage to be an hereditary virtue, when we see so many instances of it in the line of Brunswick.

To go no farther back than the time of our present king, where can we find, among the sovereign houses of Europe, any other family, that has furnished so many persons of distinguished fortitude? Three of his majesty's brothers have fallen gloriously in the field, fighting against the enemies of their native country: and the bravery of his royal highness, the Prince of Wales, is still fresh in our memory, who fought, with the spirit of his father, at the battle of Audenarde, when the children of France, and the Pretender, fled before him.

I might here take notice of his majesty's more private virtues, but have rather chosen to remind my countrymen of the public parts of his character, which are supported by such incontestable facts as are universally known and acknowledged.

Having thus far considered our happiness in his majesty's civil and military character. I cannot forbear pleasing myself with regarding him in the view of one, who has been always fortunate. Cicero recommends Pompey under this particular head to the Romans, with whom the character of being fortunate was so popular, that several of their emperors gave it a place among their titles. Good fortune is often the reward of virtue, and as often the effect of prudence. And whether it proceeds from either of these, or from both together, or whatever may be the cause of it, every one is naturally pleased to see his interests conducted by a person who is used to good success. The establishment of the electoral dignity in his majesty's family, was a work reserved for him finally to accomplish. A large accession of dominion fell to him, by his succeeding to the dukedom of Zell, whereby he became one of the greatest princes of Germany; and one of the most powerful persons, that ever stood next heirs to the throne of Great

Britain. The duchy of Bremen, and the bishopric of Osnaburg, have considerably strengthened his interests in the empire, and given a great additional weight to the Protestant cause. But the most remarkable interpositions of Providence, in favour of him, have appeared in removing those seemingly invincible obstacles to his succession; in taking away, at so critical a juncture, the person who might have proved a dangerous enemy; in confounding the secret and open attempts of his traitorous subjects; and in giving him the delightful prospect of transmitting his power through a numerous and still increasing progeny.

Upon the whole, it is not to be doubted but every wise and honest subject will concur with Providence in promoting the glory and happiness of his present majesty, who is endowed with all those royal virtues, that will naturally secure to us the national blessings, which ought to be dear and valuable to a free people.

No. 3. FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30.

Quibus otio vel magnifice, vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem, malebant.

SALL.

EVERY one knows, that it is usual for a French officer, who can write and read, to set down all the occurrences of a campaign, in which he pretends to have been personally concerned; and to publish them under the title of his 'Memoirs,' when most of his fellow-soldiers are dead that might have contradicted any of his matters of fact. Many a gallant young fellow has been killed in battle, before he came to the third page of his secret history; when several, who have taken more care of their persons, have lived to fill a whole volume with their military performances, and to astonish the world with such instances of their bravery, as had escaped the

notice of every body else. One of our late Preston heroes had, it seems, resolved upon this method of doing himself justice: and, had he not been nipped in the bud, might have made a very formidable figure in his own works, among posterity. A friend of mine, who had the pillage of his pockets, has made me a present of the following memoirs, which he desires me to accept as a part of the spoils of the rebels. I have omitted the introduction, as more proper for the inspection of a secretary of state; and shall only set down so much of the memoirs, as seem to be a faithful narrative of that wonderful expedition, which drew upon it the eyes of all Europe.

"HAVING thus concerted measures for a rising, we had a general meeting over a bowl of punch. It was here proposed, by one of the wisest among us, to draw up a manifesto, setting forth the grounds and motives of our taking arms: for, as he observed, there had never yet been an insurrection in England, where the leaders had not thought themselves obliged to give some reasons for it. To this end, we laid our heads together to consider what grievances the nation had suffered under the reign of King George. After having spent some hours upon this subject, without being able to discover any, we unanimously agreed to rebel first, and to find out reasons for it afterwards. It was, indeed, easy to guess at several grievances of a private nature, which influenced particular persons. One of us had spent his fortune: another was a younger brother: a third had the encumbrance of a father upon his estate. But that which principally disposed us in favour of the Chevalier was, that most of the company had been obliged to take the abjuration oath against their will. Being at length thoroughly inflamed with zeal and punch, we resolved to take horse the next morning, which we did accordingly, having been joined by a considerable reinforcement of Roman Catholics, whom we could rely upon, as knowing them to be the best tories in the nation, and avowed enemies to Presbyterianism. We

were, likewise, joined by a very useful associate, who was a fiddler by profession, and brought in with him a body of lusty young fellows, whom he had tweedled into the service. About the third day of our march, I was made a colonel; though I must needs say, I gained my commission by my horse's virtues, not my own; having leaped over a six-bar gate at the head of the cavalry. My general, who is a discerning man, hereupon gave me a regiment; telling me, 'He did not question but I would do the like when I came to the enemy's pallisadoes.' We pursued our march, with much intrepidity, through two or three open towns, to the great terror of the market-people, and the miscarriage of half a dozen big-bellied women. Notwithstanding the magistracy was generally against us, we could discover many friends among our spectators; particularly in two or three balconies, which were filled with several tawdry females, who are known by the ancient name of Harlots. This sort of ladies received us every where with great demonstrations of joy, and promised to assist us with their prayers. After these signal successes in the north of England, it was thought advisable, by our general, to proceed towards our Scotch confederates. During our first day's march, I amused myself with considering what post I should accept of under James the third, when we had put him in possession of the British dominions. Being a great lover of country sports, I absolutely determined not to be a minister of state, nor to be fobbed off with a garter; until at length, passing by a noble country-seat, which belongs to a whig, I resolved to beg it; and pleased myself, the remainder of the day, with several alterations I intended to make in it. For though the situation was very delightful, I neither liked the front of the house, nor the avenues that led to it. We were, indeed, so confident of success, that I found most of my fellow-soldiers were taken up with imaginations of the same nature. There had like to have been a duel between two of our subalterns upon a dispute, which of them should be governor of Portsmouth. A popish priest, about the

same time gave great offence to a Northumberland squire, whom he threatened to excommunicate, if he did not give up to him the church-lands, which his family had usurped ever since the reformation. In short, every man had cut out a place for himself in his own thoughts; so that I could reckon up in our little army, two or three lord-treasurers, half a dozen secretaries of state, and at least a score of lords-justices in Eyre, for each side of Trent. We pursued our march through several villages, which we drank dry, making proclamation at our entrance, in the name of James the third, against all concealments of ale or brandy. Being very much fatigued with the action of a whole week, it was agreed to rest on Sunday, when we heard a most excellent sermon. Our chaplain insisted principally upon two heads. Under the first he proved to us, that the breach of public oaths is no perjury; and under the second, expounded to us the nature of non-resistance; which might be interpreted from the Hebrew, to signify either loyalty or rebellion, according as the sovereign bestowed his favours and preferments. He concluded with exhorting us, in a most pathetic manner, to purge the land by wholesome severities, and to propagate sound principles by fire and sword. We set forward the next day, towards our friends at Kelso; but by the way had like to have lost our general, and some of our most active officers. For a fox unluckily crossing the road, drew off a considerable detachment, who clapped spurs to their horses, and pursued him with whoops and halloos, till we had lost sight of them. A covey of partridges springing in our front, put our infantry into disorder on the same day. It was not long after this, that we were joined by our friends from the other side of the Frith. Upon the junction of the two corps, our spies brought us word, that they discovered a great cloud of dust at some distance; upon which we sent out a party to reconnoitre. They returned to us with intelligence, that the dust was raised by a great drove of black cattle. This news was not a little welcome to us, the army of both nations being very hungry. We quick-

ly formed ourselves, and received orders for the attack, with positive instructions to give no quarter. Every thing was executed with so much good order, that we made a very plentiful supper. We had, three days after, the same success against a flock of sheep, which we were forced to eat with great precipitation, having received advice of General Carpenter's march as we were at dinner. Upon this alarm, we made incredible stretches towards the south, with a design to gain the fastnesses of Preston. We did little remarkable in our way, except setting fire to a few houses, and frighting an old woman into fits. We had now got a long day's march of the enemy; and meeting with a considerable refreshment of October, all the officers assembled over it, among whom were several Popish lords and gentlemen, who toasted many loyal healths and confusions, and wept very plentifully for the danger of the church. We sat till midnight, and at our parting, resolved to give the enemy battle; but the next morning changed our resolutions, and prosecuted our march with indefatigable speed. We were no sooner arrived upon the frontiers of Cumberland, but we saw a great body of militia drawn up in array against us. Orders were given to halt: and a council of war was immediately called, wherein we agreed, with that great unanimity which was so remarkable among us on these occasions, to make a retreat. But before we could give the word, the train-bands, taking advantage of our delay, fled first. We arrived at Preston without any memorable adventure; where, after having formed many barricades, and prepared for a vigorous resistance, upon the approach of the king's troops under General Wills, who was used to the outlandish way of making war, we thought it high time to put in practice that passive-obedience, in which our party so much glories, and which I would advise them to stick to for the future."

Such was the end of this rebellion; which, in all probability, will not only tend to the safety of our constitution, but the preservation of the game.

No. 4. MONDAY, JANUARY 2, 1716.

Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes, extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur, venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in prælio passuram ausuramque. Sic vivendum, sic pereundum. TACIT.

IT is with great satisfaction I observe, that the women of our island, who are the most eminent for virtue and good sense, are in the interest of the present government. As the fair sex very much recommend the cause they are engaged in, it would be no small misfortune to a sovereign, though he had all the male part of the nation on his side, if he did not find himself king of the most beautiful half of his subjects. Ladies are always of great use to the party they espouse, and never fail to win over numbers to it. Lovers, according to Sir William Petty's computation, make at least the third part of the sensible men of the British nation; and it has been an uncontroverted maxim in all ages, that, though a husband is sometimes a stubborn sort of a creature, a lover is always at the devotion of his mistress. By this means, it lies in the power of every fine woman, to secure at least half a dozen able-bodied men to his majesty's service. The female world are, likewise, indispensably necessary in the best causes, to manage the controversial part of them, in which no man of tolerable breeding is ever able to refute them. Arguments out of a pretty mouth are unanswerable.

It is, indeed, remarkable, that the inferior tribe of common women, who are a dishonour to their sex, have, in most reigns, been the professed sticklers for such as have acted in opposition to the true interest of the nation. The most numerous converts in King James's reign, were particularly noted to be of this kind. I can give no other reason for such a behaviour, unless it be, that it is not for the advantage of these female adventurers, the laws of the land should take

place, and that they know Bridewell is a part of our constitution.

There are many reasons why the women of Great Britain should be on the side of the Freeholder, and enemies to the person who would bring in arbitrary government and popery. As there are several of our ladies, who amuse themselves in the reading of travels, they cannot but take notice, what uncomfortable lives those of their own sex lead, where passive-obedience is professed and practised in its utmost perfection. In those countries, the men have no property but in their wives, who are the slaves to slaves: every married woman being subject to a domestic tyrant, that requires from her the same vassalage which he pays to his sultan. If the ladies would seriously consider the evil consequences of arbitrary power, they would find, that it spoils the shape of the foot in China, where the barbarous politics of the men so diminish the basis of the female figure, as to unqualify a woman for an evening walk or country-dance. In the East-Indies, a widow, who has any regard to her character, throws herself into the flames of her husband's funeral pile, to shew, forsooth, that she is faithful and loyal to the memory of her deceased lord. In Persia, the daughters of Eve, as they call them, are reckoned in the inventory of their goods and chattels: and it is a usual thing, when a man sells a bale of silk, or a drove of camels, to toss half a dozen women into the bargain. Through all the dominions of the Great Turk, a woman thinks herself happy, if she can get but the twelfth share of a husband, and is thought of no manner of use in the creation, but to keep up a proper number of slaves for the commander of the faithful. I need not set forth the ill usage which the fair ones meet with, in those despotic governments that lie nearer us. Every one hath heard of the several ways of locking up women in Spain and Italy; where, if there is any power lodged in any of the sex, it is not among the young and the beautiful, whom nature seems to have formed for it, but among the old and withered matrons, known by the frightful name of

gouvernantes and *duennas*. If any should alledge the freedoms indulged to the French ladies, he must own that these are owing to the natural gallantry of the people, not to their form of government, which excludes, by its very constitution, every female from power, as naturally unfit to hold the sceptre of that kingdom.

Women ought, in reason, to be no less averse to popery than to arbitrary power. Some merry authors have pretended to demonstrate, that the Roman Catholic religion could never spread in a nation where women would have more modesty than to expose their innocent liberties to a confessor. Others of the same turn have assured us, that the fine British complexion, which is so peculiar to our ladies, would suffer very much from a fish-diet: and that a whole Lent would give such a sallowness to the celebrated beauties of this island, as would scarce make them distinguishable from those of France. I shall only leave to the serious consideration of my country-women, the danger any of them might have been in, (had popery been our national religion,) of being forced by their relations to a state of perpetual virginity. The most blooming toast in the island might have been a nun; and many a lady, who is now a mother of fine children, condemned to a condition of life, disagreeable to herself, and unprofitable to the world. To this I might add, the melancholy object sthey would be daily entertained with, of several sightly men delivered over to an inviolable celibacy. Let a young lady imagine to herself the brisk embroidered officer, who now makes love to her with so agreeable an air, converted into a monk; or the beau, who now addresses himself to her in a full-bottomed wig, distinguished by a little bald pate covered with a black leather skull-cap. I forbear to mention many other objections, which the ladies, who are no strangers to the doctrines of popery, will easily recollect: though I do not in the least doubt but those I have already suggested, will be sufficient to persuade my fair readers to be zealous in the Protestant cause.*

The freedom and happiness of our British ladies is so singular, that it is a common saying in foreign countries, 'If a bridge were built across the seas, all the women in Europe would flock into England.' It has been observed, that the laws relating to them are so favourable, that one would think they themselves had given votes in enacting them. All the honours and indulgences of society are due to them by our customs; and, by our constitution, they have all the privileges of English-born subjects, without the burdens. I need not acquaint my fair fellow-freeholders, that every man who is anxious for our sacred and civil rights, is a champion in their cause; since we enjoy in common a religion agreeable to that reasonable nature, of which we equally partake; and since, in point of property, our law makes no distinction of sexes.

We may, therefore, justly expect from them, that they will act in concert with us for the preservation of our laws and religion, which cannot subsist, but under the government of his present majesty; and would necessarily be subverted, under that of a person bred up in the most violent principles of popery and arbitrary power. Thus may the fair sex contribute to fix the peace of a brave and generous people, who, for many ages, have disdained to bear any tyranny but theirs; and be as famous in history, as those illustrious matrons, who, in the infancy of Rome, reconciled the Romans and the Sabines, and united the two contending parties under their new king.

No. 5. FRIDAY, JANUARY 6.

Omnium Societatum nulla est gravior, nulla carior, quam ea quæ cum republica est unicuique nostrum: cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares: sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est: pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, si ei sit profuturus? Cic.

THERE is no greater sign of a general decay of virtue in a nation, than a want of zeal in its inhabitants for the good of their country. This generous and public-spirited passion has been observed of late years to languish and grow cold in this our island; where a party of men have made it their business to represent it as chimerical and romantic, to destroy in the minds of the people, the sense of national glory, and to turn into ridicule our natural and ancient allies, who are united to us by the common interests both of religion and policy. It may not, therefore, be unseasonable to recommend to this present generation, the practice of that virtue, for which their ancestors were particularly famous, and which is called, 'The love of one's country.' This love to our country, as a moral virtue, is a fixed disposition of mind to promote the safety, welfare, and reputation of the community in which we are born, and of the constitution under which we are protected. Our obligation to this great duty, may appear to us from several considerations.

In the first place, we may observe, that we are directed to it by one of those secret suggestions of nature, which go under the name of Instinct, and which are never given in vain. As self-love is an instinct planted in us, for the good and safety of each particular person, the love of our country is impressed on our minds for the happiness and preservation of the community. This instinct is so remarkable, that we find examples of it in those who are born in the most uncomfortable climates, or the worst of governments. We read of an inhabitant of Nova Zembla, who, after having lived some time in Denmark, where he was clothed and treated with the

utmost indulgence, took the first opportunity of making his escape, though with the hazard of his life, into his native regions of cold, poverty, and nakedness. We have an instance of the same nature among the very Hottentots. One of these savages was brought into England, taught our language, and, in a great measure, polished out of his natural barbarity: but, upon being carried back to the Cape of Good Hope, (where it was thought he might have been of advantage to our English traders) he mixed, in a kind of transport, with his countrymen, brutalized with them in their habit and manners, and would never again return to his foreign acquaintance. I need not mention the common opinion of the negroes in our plantations, who have no other notion of a future state of happiness, than that, after death, they shall be conveyed back to their native country. The Swiss are so remarkable for this passion, that it often turns to a disease among them; for which there is a particular name in the German language, and which the French call 'The distemper of the country:' for nothing is more usual, than for several of their common soldiers, who are listed into a foreign service, to have such violent hankerings after their home, as to pine away, even to death, unless they have a permission to return; which, on such an occasion, is generally granted them. I shall only add under this head, that, since the love of one's country is natural to every man, any particular nation, who, by false politics, shall endeavour to stifle or restrain it, will not be upon a level with others.

As this love of our country is natural to every man, so it is likewise very reasonable; and that, in the first place, because it inclines us to be beneficial to those, who are and ought to be dearer to us than any others. It takes in our families, relations, friends, and acquaintance, and, in short, all whose welfare and security we are obliged to consult, more than that of those who are strangers to us. For this reason, it is the most sublime and extensive of all social virtues: especially, if we consider that it does not only promote the well-being of

these who are our contemporaries, but likewise of their children and their posterity. Hence it is, that all casuists are unanimous in determining, that when the good of their country interferes even with the life of the most beloved relation, dearest friend, or greatest benefactor, it is to be preferred without exception.

Farther, though there is a benevolence due to all mankind, none can question but a superior degree of it is to be paid to a father, a wife, or child. In the same manner, though our love should reach to the whole species, a greater proportion of it should exert itself towards that community in which Providence has placed us. This is our proper sphere of action, the province allotted to us for the exercise of our civil virtues, and in which alone we have opportunities of expressing our good-will to mankind. I could not but be pleased, in the accounts of the late Persian embassy into France, with a particular ceremony of the ambassador; who, every morning, before he went abroad, religiously saluted a turf of earth dug out of his own native soil, to remind him, that in all the transactions of the day, he was to think of his country, and pursue its advantages. If, in the several districts and divisions of the world, men would thus study the welfare of those respective communities, to which their power of doing good is limited, the whole race of reasonable creatures would be happy, as far as the benefits of society can make them so. At least, we find so many blessings naturally flowing from this noble principle, that in proportion as it prevails, every nation becomes a prosperous and flourishing people.

It may be yet a farther recommendation of this particular virtue, if we consider, that no nation was ever famous for its morals, which was not, at the same time, remarkable for its public spirit: patriots naturally rise out of a Spartan or Roman virtue: and there is no remark more common among the ancient historians, than that, when the state was corrupted with avarice and luxury, it was in danger of benig betrayed, or sold.

To the foregoing reasons for the love which every good man owes to his country, we may add, that the actions, which are most celebrated in history, and which are read with the greatest admiration, are such as proceed from this principle. The establishing of good laws, the detecting of conspiracies, the crushing of seditions and rebellions, the falling in battle, or the devoting of a man's self to certain death for the safety of his fellow-citizens, are actions that always warm the reader, and endear to him persons of the remotest ages, and the most distant countries.

And as actions, that proceed from the love of one's country, are more illustrious than any others in the records of time; so we find, that those persons who have been eminent in other virtues, have been particularly distinguished by this. It would be endless to produce examples of this kind out of Greek and Roman authors. To confine myself, therefore, in so wide and beaten a field, I shall chuse some instances from holy writ, which abounds in accounts of this nature, as much as any other history whatsoever. And this I do the more willingly, because, in some books lately written, I find it objected against revealed religion, that it does not inspire the love of one's country. Here I must premise, that as the sacred author of our religion chiefly inculcated to the Jews those parts of their duty wherein they were most defective, so there was no need of insisting upon this; the Jews being remarkable for an attachment to their own country, even to the exclusion of all common humanity to strangers. We see, in the behaviour of this divine person, the practice of this virtue in conjunction with all others. He deferred working a miracle in the behalf of a Syro-Phœnician woman, until he had declared his superior good-will to his own nation; and was prevailed upon to heal the daughter of a Roman centurion, by hearing from the Jews, that he was one who loved their nation, and had built them a synagogue. But, to look out for no other instance, what was ever more moving, than his lamentation over Jerusalem, at his first approach to it, not-

withstanding he had foretold the cruel and unjust treatment he was to meet with in that city! for he foresaw the destruction, which, in a few years, was to fall upon that people; a destruction not to be paralleled in any nation, from the beginning of the world to this day; and in the view of it melted into tears. His followers have, in many places, expressed the like sentiments of affection for their countrymen, among which, none is more extraordinary, than that of the great convert, who wished he himself might be made a curse, provided it might turn to the happiness of his nation; or, as he words it, 'of his brethren and kinsmen who are Israelites.' This instance naturally brings to mind the same heroic temper of soul in the great Jewish lawgiver, who would have devoted himself in the same manner, rather than see his people perish. It would, indeed, be difficult, to find out any man of extraordinary piety, in the sacred writings, in whom this virtue is not highly conspicuous. The reader, however, will excuse me, if I take notice of one passage, because it is a very fine one, and wants only a place in some polite author of Greece or Rome, to have been admired and celebrated. The king of Syria lying sick upon his bed, sent Hasael, one of his great officers, to the prophet Elisha, to inquire of him, whether he should recover. The prophet looked so attentively on this messenger, that it put him into some confusion; or, to quote this beautiful circumstance, and the whole narrative, in the pathetic language of scripture, 'Elisha settled his countenance stedfastly upon him, until he was ashamed: and Hasael said, why weepeth my lord? And he said, because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their strong holds wilt thou set on fire, and their men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child. And Hasael said, But what, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing? And Elisha answered, The Lord hath shewed me, that thou shalt be king over Syria.'

I might enforce these reasons for the love of our coun-

try, by considerations adapted to my readers as they are Englishmen, and as by that means they enjoy a purer religion, and a more excellent form of government, than any other nation under heaven. But, being persuaded that every one must look upon himself as indispensably obliged to the practice of a duty, which is recommended to him by so many arguments and examples, I shall only desire the honest, well-meaning reader, when he turns his thoughts towards the public, rather to consider what opportunities he has of doing good to his native country, than to throw away his time in deciding the rights of princes, or the like speculations, which are so far beyond his reach. Let us leave these great points to the wisdom of our legislature, and to the determination of those, who are the proper judges of our constitution. We shall otherwise be liable to the just reproach, which is cast upon such Christians as waste their lives in the subtle and intricate disputes of religion, when they should be practising the doctrine which it teaches. If there be any right upon earth, any relying on the judgment of our most eminent lawyers and divines, or, indeed, any certainty, in human reason, our present sovereign has an undoubted title to our duty and obedience. But supposing, for argument's sake, that this right were doubtful, and that an Englishman could be divided in his opinion, as to the person to whom he should pay his allegiance: in this case, there is no question, but the love of his country ought to cast the balance, and to determine him on that side, which is most conducive to the welfare of his community. To bring this to our present case. A man must be destitute of common sense, who is capable of imagining that the Protestant religion could flourish under the government of a bigoted Roman Catholic, or that our civil rights could be protected by one who has been trained up in the politics of the most arbitrary prince in Europe, and who could not acknowledge his gratitude to his benefactor, by any remarkable instance, which would not be detrimental to the British nation. And are these such desirable blessings, that an honest man

would endeavour to arrive at them, through the confusions of a civil war, and the blood of many thousands of his fellow-subjects? On the contrary, the arguments for our steady, loyal, and affectionate adherence to King George, are so evident from this single topic, that if every Briton, instead of aspiring after private wealth or power, would sincerely desire to make his country happy, his present majesty would not have a single malecontent in his whole dominions.

No. 6. MONDAY, JANUARY 9.

Fraus enim astringit, non dissolvit perjurium.
CICERO.

AT a time when so many of the king's subjects present themselves before their respective magistrates to take the oaths required by law, it may not be improper to awaken in the minds of my readers a due sense of the engagement under which they lay themselves. It is a melancholy consideration, that there should be several among us so hardened and deluded, as to think an oath a proper subject for a jest; and to make this, which is one of the most solemn acts of religion, an occasion of mirth. Yet such is the depravation of our manners at present, that nothing is more frequent than to hear profligate men ridiculing, to the best of their abilities, these sacred pledges of their duty and allegiance; and endeavouring to be witty upon themselves, for daring to prevaricate with God and man. A poor conceit of their own, or a quotation out of Hudibras, shall make them treat with levity an obligation wherein their safety and welfare are concerned both as to this world and the next. Raillery of this nature is enough to make the hearer tremble. As these miscreants seem to glory in the profession of their impiety, there is no man, who has any regard to his duty, or even to his reputation,

that can appear in their defence. But if there are others of a more serious turn, who join with us deliberately in these religious professions of loyalty to our sovereign, with any private salvos or evasions, they would do well to consider those maxims, in which all casuists are agreed, who have gained any esteem for their learning, judgment, or morality. These have unanimously determined that an oath is always to be taken in the sense of that authority which imposes it: and that those, whose hearts do not concur with their lips in the form of these public protestations; or who have any mental reserves, or who take an oath against their consciences, upon any motive whatsoever; or with a design to break it, or repent of it, are guilty of perjury. Any of these, or the like circumstances, instead of alleviating the crime, make it more heinous, as they are premeditated frauds (which it is the chief design of an oath to prevent) and the most flagrant instances of insincerity to men, and irreverence to their Maker. For this reason, the perjury of a man, who takes an oath, with an intention to keep it, and is afterwards seduced to the violation of it, (though a crime not to be thought of, without the greatest horror) is yet, in some respects, not quite so black as the perjury above-mentioned. It is, indeed, a very unhappy token of the great corruption of our manners, that there should be any so inconsiderate among us, as to sacrifice the standing and essential duties of morality, to the views of politics; and that, as in my last paper, it was not unseasonable to prove the love of our country to be a virtue, so in this there should be any occasion to shew that perjury is a sin. But it is our misfortune to live in an age when such wild and unnatural doctrines have prevailed among some of our fellow-subjects, that if one looks into their schemes of government, they seem, according as they are in the humour, to believe that a sovereign is not to be restrained by his coronation oath, or his people by their oaths of allegiance: or to represent them in a plainer light, in some reigns they are for a power and an obedience that is unlimited, and in others, are for retrenching

within the narrowest bounds, both the authority of the prince, and the allegiance of the subject.

Now the guilt of perjury is so self-evident, that it was always reckoned among the greatest crimes, by those who were only governed by the light of reason: the inviolable observing of an oath, like the other practical duties of Christianity, is a part of natural religion. As reason is common to all mankind, the dictates of it are the same through the whole species: and since every man's own heart will tell him, that there can be no greater affront to the Deity, whom he worships, than to appeal to him with an intention to deceive; nor a greater injustice to men than to betray them by false assurances; it is no wonder that pagans and Christians, infidels and believers, should concur in a point wherein the honour of the Supreme Being, and the welfare of society, are so highly concerned. For this reason, Pythagoras to his first precept of honouring the immortal gods, immediately subjoins that of paying veneration to an oath. We may see the reverence which the heathens showed to these sacred and solemn engagements from the inconveniences which they often suffered, rather than break through them. We have frequent instances of this kind in the Roman commonwealth; which, as it has been observed by several eminent pagan writers, very much excelled all other pagan governments in the practice of virtue. How far they exceeded, in this particular, those great corrupters of Christianity, and, indeed, of natural religion, the Jesuits, may appear from their abhorrence of every thing that looked like a fraudulent or mental evasion. Of this I shall only produce the following instance. Several Romans, who had been taken prisoners by Hannibal, were released, upon obliging themselves by an oath to return again to his camp. Among these there was one, who, thinking to elude the oath, went the same day back to the camp on pretence of having forgot something. But this prevarication was so shocking to the Roman senate, that they ordered him to be apprehended, and delivered up to Hannibal.

We may farther see the just sense the heathens had

of the crime of perjury, from the penalties which they inflicted on the persons guilty of it. Perjury among the Scythians was a capital crime; and among the Egyptians also was punished with death, as Diodorus Siculus relates, who observes, that an offender of this kind is guilty of those two crimes (wherein the malignity of perjury truly consists) a failing in his respect to the Divinity, and in his faith towards men. 'Tis unnecessary to multiply instances of this nature, which may be found in almost every author who has written on this subject.

If men, who had no other guide but their reason, considered an oath to be of such a tremendous nature, and the violation of it to be so great a crime; it ought to make a much deeper impression upon minds enlightened by revealed religion, as they have more exalted notions of the Divinity. A supposed heathen deity might be so poor in his attributes, so stinted in his knowledge, goodness, or power, that a pagan might hope to conceal his perjury from his notice, or not to provoke him, should he be discovered; or should he provoke him, not to be punished by him. Nay, he might have produced examples of falsehood and perjury in the gods themselves, to whom he appealed. But as revealed religion has given us a more just and clear idea of the divine nature, He, whom we appeal to, is Truth itself, the great Searcher of Hearts, who will not let fraud and falsehood go unpunished, or, 'hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain,' And as with regard to the Deity, so likewise with regard to man, the obligation of an oath is stronger upon Christians than upon any other part of mankind; and that because charity, truth, mutual confidence, and all other social duties, are carried to greater heights, and enforced with stronger motives, by the principles of our religion.

Perjury, with relation to the oaths which are at present required by us, has in it all the aggravating circumstances, which can attend that crime. We take them before the magistrates of public justice; are reminded by the ceremony, that it is a part of that obedience

which we learn from the gospel; expressly disavow all evasions and mental reservations whatsoever; appeal to Almighty God for the integrity of our hearts, and only desire him to be our helper, as we fulfil the oath we there take in his presence. I mention these circumstances, to which several other might be added, because it is a received doctrine among those, who have treated of the nature of an oath, that the greater the solemnities are which attend it, the more they aggravate the violation of it. And here what must be the success that a man can hope for who turns a rebel, after having disclaimed the divine assistance, but upon condition of being a faithful and loyal subject? He first of all desires that God may help him, as he shall keep his oath, and afterwards hopes to prosper in an enterprise, which is the direct breach of it.

Since, therefore, perjury, by the common sense of mankind, the reason of the thing, and from the whole tenor of Christianity, is a crime of so flagitious a nature, we cannot be too careful in avoiding every approach towards it.

The virtue of the ancient Athenians is very remarkable in the case of Euripides. This great tragic poet, though famous for the morality of his plays, had introduced a person, who being reminded of an oath he had taken, replied, 'I swore with my mouth, but not with my heart.' The impiety of this sentiment set the audience in an uproar; made Socrates (though an intimate friend of the poet) go out of the theatre with indignation; and gave so great offence, that he was publicly accused, and brought upon his trial, as one who suggested an evasion of what they thought the most holy and indissoluble bond of human society. So jealous were these virtuous heathens of any the smallest hint, that might open a way to perjury.

And here it highly imports us to consider, that we do not only break our oath of allegiance by actual rebellion, but by all those other methods which have a natural and manifest tendency to it. The guilt may lie upon a man, where the penalty cannot take hold of

him. Those who speak irreverently of the person to whom they have sworn allegiance; who endeavour to alienate from him the hearts of his subjects; or to inspire the people with disaffection to his government, cannot be thought to be true to the oath they have taken. And as for those, who by concerted falsehoods and defamations, endeavour to blemish his character, or weaken his authority; they incur the complicated guilt both of slander and perjury. The moral crime is compleated in such offenders, and there are only accidental circumstances wanting, to work it up for the cognizance of the law.

Nor is it sufficient for a man, who has given these solemn assurances to his prince, to forbear the doing him any evil, unless, at the same time, he do him all the good he can in his proper station of life.

Loyalty is of an active nature, and ought to discover itself in all the instances of zeal and affection to our sovereign: and if we carefully examine the duty of that allegiance which we pledge to his majesty, by the oaths that are tendered to us, we shall find that 'We do not only renounce, refuse, and abjure any allegiance or obedience to the pretender,' but, 'swear to defend King George to the utmost of our power, against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, and to disclose and make known to his majesty, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which we shall know to be against him.'

To conclude, as among those who have bound themselves by these sacred obligations, the actual traitor or rebel is guilty of perjury in the eye of the law; the secret promoter, or well-wisher of the cause, is so before the tribunal of conscience. And though I should be unwilling to pronounce the man who is indolent, or indifferent in the cause of his prince, to be absolutely perjured; I may venture to affirm, that he falls very short of that allegiance to which he is obliged by oath. Upon the whole we may be assured, that, in a nation which is tied down by such religious and solemn engagements,

the people's loyalty will keep pace with their morality; and that, in proportion as they are sincere Christians, they will be faithful subjects.

No. 7. FRIDAY, JANUARY 13.

Veritas pluribus modis infracta: primum inscitiâ reipublicæ, ut alienæ; mox libidine assentandi, aut rursus odio adversus dominantes. Obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulationi fœdum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. TAC.

THERE is no greater sign of a bad cause, than when the patrons of it are reduced to the necessity of making use of the most wicked artifices to support it. Of this kind are the falsehoods and calumnies, which are invented and spread abroad by the enemies to our king and country. This spirit of malice and slander does not discover itself in any instances so ridiculous, as in those, by which seditious men endeavour to depreciate his majesty's person and family; without considering, that his court at Hanover was always allowed to be one of the politest in Europe, and that, before he became our king, he was reckoned among the greatest princes of Christendom.

But the most glorious of his majesty's predecessors was treated after the same manner. Upon that prince's first arrival, the inconsiderable party, who then laboured to make him odious to the people, gave out, that he brought with him twenty thousand Laplanders, clothed in the skins of bears, all of their own killing; and that they mutinied, because they had not been regaled with a bloody battle within two days after their landing. He was no sooner on the throne, than those, who had contributed to place him there, finding that he had made some changes at court which were not to their humour, endeavoured to render him unpopular by mis-

representations of his person, his character, and his actions. They found that his nose had a resemblance to that of Oliver Cromwell, and clapt him on a huge pair of mustachoes to frighten his people with: his mercy was fear; his justice was cruelty; his temperance, economy, prudent behaviour, and application to business, were Dutch virtues; and such as we had not been used to in our English kings. He did not fight a battle in which the tories did not slay double the number of what he had lost in the field; nor ever raised a siege or gained a victory, which did not cost more than it was worth. In short, he was contriving the ruin of his kingdom; and, in order to it, advanced Dr. Tillotson to the highest station of the church, my Lord Somers of the law, Mr. Montague of the treasury, and the admiral at La Hogue of the fleet. Such were the calumnies of the party in those times, which we see so faithfully copied out by men of the same principles under the reign of his present majesty.

As the schemes of these gentlemen are the most absurd and contradictory to common sense, the means by which they are promoted must be of the same nature. Nothing but weakness and folly can dispose Englishmen and Protestants to the interest of a popish pretender: and the same abilities of mind will naturally qualify his adherents to swallow the most palpable and notorious falsehoods. Their self-interested and designing leaders cannot desire a more ductile and easy people to work upon. How long was it before many of this simple, deluded tribe were brought to believe that the Highlanders were a generation of men that could be conquered! The rabble of the party were instructed to look upon them as so many giants and Saracens; and were very much surprised to find, that every one of them had not with his broad sword mowed down at least a squadron of the king's forces. There were not only public rejoicings in the camp at Perth, but likewise many private congratulations nearer us, among these well-wishers to their country, upon the victories of their friends at Preston; which continued till the rebels made

their solemn cavalcade from Highgate. Nay, there were then some of these wise partisans, who concluded, the government had hired two or three hundred hale men, who looked like fox-hunters, to be bound and pinioned, if not to be executed, as representatives of the pretended captives. Their victories in Scotland have been innumerable; and no longer ago than last week, they gained a very remarkable one, in which the Highlanders cut off all the Dutch forces to a man; and afterwards, disguising themselves in their habits, came up as friends to the king's troops, and put them all to the sword. This story had a great run for a day or two; and I believe one might still find out a whisper among their secret intelligence, that the Duke of Mar is actually upon the road to London, if not within two days march of the town. I need not take notice, that their successes in the battle of Dumblain are magnified among some of them to this day; though a tory may very well say, with king Pyrrhus, 'That such another victory would undo them.'

But the most fruitful source of falsehood and calumny, is that which, one would think, should be the least apt to produce them; I mean a pretended concern for the safety of our established religion. Were these people as anxious for the doctrines, which are essential to the church of England, as they are for the nominal distinction of adhering to its interests, they would know, that the sincere observation of public oaths, allegiance to their king, submission to their bishops, zeal against popery, and abhorrence of rebellion, are the great points that adorn the character of the church of England, and in which the authors of the reformed religion in this nation have always gloried. We justly reproach the Jesuits, who have adapted all Christianity to temporal and political views, for maintaining a position so repugnant to the laws of nature, morality, and religion, that an evil may be committed for the sake of good, which may arise from it. But we cannot suppose even this principle, (as bad a one as it is) should influence those persons, who, by so many absurd and monstrous false-

hoods, endeavour to delude men into a belief of the danger of the church. If there be any relying on the solemn declarations of a prince, famed for keeping his word, constant in the public exercises of our religion, and determined in the maintenance of our laws, we have all the assurances that can be given us, for the security of the established church under his government. When a leading man, therefore, begins to grow apprehensive for the church, you may be sure, that he is either in danger of losing a place, or in despair of getting one. It is pleasant on these occasions, to see a notorious profligate seized with a concern for his religion, and converting his spleen into zeal. These narrow and selfish views have so great an influence in this city, that, among those who call themselves the landed interest, there are several of my fellow freeholders, who always fancy the church in danger upon the rising of bank-stock. But the standing absurdities, without the belief of which no man is reckoned a staunch churchman, are, that there is a calve's-head club; for which, (by the way,) some pious tory has made suitable hymns and devotions: that there is a confederacy among the greatest part of the prelates to destroy Episcopacy; and that all, who talk against Popery, are Presbyterians in their hearts. The emissaries of the party are so diligent in spreading ridiculous fictions of this kind, that at present, if we may credit common report, there are several remote parts of the nation in which it is firmly believed, that all the churches in London are shut up; and that, if any clergyman walks the streets in his habit, it is ten to one but he is knocked down by some sturdy schismatic.

We may observe upon this occasion, that there are many particular falsehoods suited to the particular climates and latitudes in which they are published, according as the situation of the place makes them less liable to discovery: there is many a lie that will not thrive within a hundred miles of London: nay, we often find a lie born in Southwark, that dies the same day on this side the water: and several produced in the

loyal ward of Portsoken of so feeble a make, as not to bear carriage to the Royal-Exchange. However, as the mints of calumny are perpetually at work, there are a great number of curious inventions issued out from time to time, which grow current among the party, and circulate through the whole kingdom.

As the design of this paper is not to exasperate, but to undeceive my countrymen, let me desire them to consider the many inconveniences they bring upon themselves by these mutual intercourses of credulity and falsehood. I shall only remind the credulous of the strong delusion they have by this means been led into the greatest part of their lives. Their hopes have been kept up by a succession of lies for near thirty years. How many persons have starved in expectation of those profitable employments, which were promised them by the authors of these forgeries! how many of them have died with great regret, when they thought they were within a month of enjoying the inestimable blessings of a popish and arbitrary reign!

I would, therefore, advise this blinded set of men, not to give credit to those persons, by whom they have been so often fooled and imposed upon; but, on the contrary, to think it an affront to their parts, when they hear from any of them such accounts, as they would not dare to tell them, but upon the presumption that they are ideots. Or if their zeal for the cause shall dispose them to be credulous in any points that are favourable to it, I would beg of them not to venture wagers upon the truth of them: and in this present conjuncture, by no means to sell out of the stocks upon any news they shall hear from their good friends at Perth. As these party fictions are the proper subjects of mirth and laughter, their deluded believers are only to be treated with pity or contempt. But as for those incendiaries of figure and distinction, who are the inventors and publishers of such gross falsehoods and calumnies, they cannot be regarded by others, but with the utmost detestation and abhorrence; nor, one would think, by themselves, without the greatest remorse and compunction

of heart; when they consider, that in order to give a spirit to a desperate cause, they have, by their false and treacherous insinuations and reports, betrayed so many of their friends into their destruction.

No. 8. MONDAY, JANUARY 16.

Adveniet qui vestra dies muliebribus armis
Verba redarguerit.

VIRG.

I HAVE heard that several ladies of distinction, upon the reading of my fourth paper, are studying methods how to make themselves useful to the public. One has a design of keeping an open tea-table, where every man shall be welcome that is a friend to King George. Another is for setting up an assembly for basset, where none shall be admitted to punt that have not taken the oaths. A third is upon an invention of a dress, which will put every tory lady out of countenance: I am not informed of the particulars, but am told in general, that she has contrived to shew her principles by the setting of her commode; so that it will be impossible for any woman, that is disaffected, to be in the fashion. Some of them are of opinion that the Fan may be made use of, with good success, against popery, by exhibiting the corruptions of the church of Rome in various figures; and that their abhorrence of the superstitious use of beads, may be very aptly expressed in the make of a pearl necklace. As for the civil part of our constitution, it is unanimously agreed, among the leaders of the sex, that there is no glory in making a man their slave, who has not naturally a passion for liberty; and to disallow of all professions of passive-obedience, but from a lover to his mistress.

It happens very luckily for the interest of the whigs,

that their very enemies acknowledge the finest women of Great Britain to be of that party. The tories are forced to borrow their toasts from their antagonists; and can scarce find beauties enough of their own side, to supply a single round of October. One may, indeed, sometimes discover among the malignants of the sex, a face that seems to have been naturally designed for a whig lady: but then it is so often flushed with rage, or soured with disappointments, that one cannot but be troubled to see it thrown away upon the owner. Would the pretty malecontent be persuaded to love her king and country, it would diffuse a chearfulness through all her features, and give her quite another air. I would, therefore, advise these, my gentle readers, as they consult the good of their faces, to forbear frowning upon loyalists, and pouting at the government. In the mean time, what may we not hope, from a cause which is recommended by all the allurement of beauty, and the force of truth! It is, therefore, to be hoped, that every fine woman will make this laudable use of her charms; and that she may not want to be frequently reminded of this great duty, I will only desire her to think of her country every time she looks in her glass.

But because it is impossible to prescribe such rules as shall be suitable to the sex in general, I shall consider them under their several divisions of maids, wives, and widows.

As for virgins, who are unexperienced in the wiles of men, they would do well to consider, how little they are to rely on the faith of lovers who, in less than a year, have broken their allegiance to their lawful sovereign; and what credit is to be given to the vows and protestations of such as shew themselves so little afraid of perjury. Besides, what would an innocent young lady think, should she marry a man without examining his principles, and afterwards find herself got with child by a rebel?

In the next place, every wife ought to answer for her man. If the husband be engaged in a seditious

club, or drinks* mysterious healths, or be frugal of his candles on a rejoicing night, let her look to him, and keep him out of harm's way; or the world will be apt to say, she has a mind to be a widow before her time. She ought, in such cases, to exert the authority of the curtain lecture; and if she finds him of a rebellious disposition, to tame him, as they do birds of prey, by dinning him in the ears all night long.

Widows may be supposed women of too good sense not to discountenance all practices that have a tendency to the destruction of mankind. Besides, they have a greater interest in property, than either maids or wives, and do not hold their jointures by the precarious tenure of portions or pin-money. So that it is as unnatural for a dowager, as a free-holder, to be an enemy to our constitution.

As nothing is more instructive than examples, I would recommend to the perusal of our British virgins, the story of Clelia, a Roman spinster, whose behaviour is represented by all their historians, as one of the chief motives that discouraged the Tarquins from prosecuting their attempt to regain the throne, from whence they had been expelled. Let the married women reflect upon the glory acquired by the wife of Coriolanus, who, when her husband, after long exile, was returning into his country with fire and sword, diverted him from so cruel and unnatural an enterprise. And let those who have out-lived their husbands, never forget their countrywoman Boadicea, who headed her troops in person, against the invasion of a Roman army, and encouraged them with this memorable saying, 'I, who am a woman, am resolved upon victory or death: but as for you, who are men, you may, if you please, chuse life and slavery.'

But I do not propose to our British ladies, that they should turn Amazons in the service of their sovereign, nor so much as let their nails grow for the defence of

* The uniformity of the sentence requires—*drink*—that is, the subjunctive mood—*be* engaged—*drink*—*be* frugal.

their country. The men will take the work of the field off their hands, and shew the world, that English valour cannot be matched, when it is animated by English beauty. I do not, however, disapprove the project which is now on foot for a 'Female Association;' and since I hear the fair confederates cannot agree among themselves upon a form, shall presume to lay before them the following rough draft, to be corrected or improved, as they in their wisdom shall think fit.

"WE, the consorts, relicts, and spinsters, of the isle of Great Britain, whose names are under-written, being most passionately offended at the falsehood and perfidiousness of certain faithless men, and at the lukewarmth and indifference of others, have entered into a voluntary association for the good and safety of our constitution. And we do hereby engage ourselves to raise and arm our vassals for the service of his majesty King George, and him to defend, with our tongues and hearts, our eyes, eye-lashes, favourites, lips, dimples, and every other feature, whether natural or acquired. We promise publicly and openly to avow the loyalty of our principles in every word we shall utter, and every patch we shall stick on. We do farther promise, to annoy the enemy with all the flames, darts, and arrows, with which nature has armed us; never to correspond with them by sigh, ogle, or billet-doux; not to have any intercourse with them, either in snuff or tea; nor to accept the civility of any man's hand, who is not ready to use it in the defence of his country. We are determined, in so good a cause, to endure the greatest hardships and severities, if there should be occasion; and even to wear the manufacture of our country, rather than appear the friends of a foreign interest in the richest French brocade. And forgetting all private feuds, jealousies, and animosities, we do unanimously oblige ourselves, by this our association, to stand and fall by one another, as loyal and faithful sisters and fellow-subjects."

N. B. This association will be lodged at Mr. Mot-

teux's, where attendance will be given to the subscribers, who are to be ranged in their respective columns, as maids, wives, and widows.

No. 9. FRIDAY, JANUARY 20.

Consilia qui dant prava cautis hominibus,
Et perdunt operam, et deridentur turpiter.
PHAEDR.

THOUGH I have already seen, in 'The Town-talk,' a letter from a celebrated Englishman to the Pretender, which is, indeed, an excellent answer to his declaration, the title of this paper obliges me to publish the following piece, which considers it in different lights.

The Declaration of the Freeholders of Great Britain, in answer to that of the Pretender.

WE, by the mercy of God, freeholders of Great Britain, to the Popish Pretender, who styles himself King of Scotland and England, and defender of our faith, DEFIANCE. Having seen a libel, which you have lately published against the king and people of these realms, under the title of a DECLARATION, We, in justice to the sentiments of our own hearts, have thought fit to return you the following answer; wherein we shall endeavour to reduce to method the several particulars, which you have contrived to throw together with much malice, and no less confusion.

We believe you sincere in the first part of your declaration, where you own it would be a great satisfaction to you, to be placed upon the throne by our endeavours: but you discourage us from making use of them, by declaring it to be your right, 'both by the laws of God and man.' As for the laws of God, we should think ourselves great transgressors of them, should we,

for your sake, rebel against a prince, who, under God, is the most powerful defender of that religion which we think the most pleasing to him: and as for the laws of man, we conceive those to be of that kind, which have been enacted from time to time, for near thirty years past, against you and your pretensions, by the legislature of this kingdom.

You afterwards proceed to invectives against the royal family: which, we do assure you, is a very unpopular topic, except to your few deluded friends among the rabble.

You call them 'aliens to our country,' not considering that King George has lived above a year longer in England than ever you did. You say they are 'distant in blood,' whereas nobody ever doubted that King George is great grandson to King James the first, though many believe that you are not son to King James the second. Besides, all the world acknowledges he is the nearest to our crown of the Protestant blood, of which you cannot have one drop in your veins, unless you derive it from such parents as you do not care for owning.

Your next argument against the royal family, is, that they are 'strangers to our language:' but they must be strangers to the British court who told you so. However, you must know, that we plain men should prefer a king who was a stranger to our language, before one who is a stranger to our laws and religion: for we could never endure French sentiments, though delivered in our native dialect; and should abhor an arbitrary prince, though he tyrannised over us in the finest English that ever was spoken. For these reasons, sir, we cannot bear the thought of hearing a man, that has been bred up in the politics of Louis the fourteenth, talk intelligibly from the British throne; especially, when we consider, however he may boast of his speaking English, he says his prayers in an unknown tongue.

We come now to the grievances for which, in your opinion, we ought to take up arms against our present sovereign. The greatest you seem to insist upon, and

which is most in the mouths of your party, is the union of the two kingdoms; for which his majesty ought most certainly to be deposed, because it was made under the reign of her, whom you call your 'dear sister of glorious memory.' Other grievances which you hint at under his majesty's administration, are, the murder of King Charles the first, who was beheaded before King George was born; and the sufferings of King Charles the second, which, perhaps, his present majesty cannot wholly clear himself of, because he came into the world a day before his restoration.

As on the one side you arraign his present majesty by this most extraordinary retrospect, on the other hand, you condemn his government by what we may call the spirit of second sight. You are not content to draw into his reign those mischiefs that were done a hundred years ago, unless we anticipate those that may happen a hundred years hence. So that the keenest of your arrows either fall short of him, or fly over his head. We take it for a certain sign that you are at a loss for present grievances, when you are thus forced to have recourse to your 'future prospects and future miseries.' Now, sir, you must know, that we freeholders have a natural aversion to hanging, and do not know how to answer it to our wives and families, if we should venture our necks upon the truth of your prophecies. In our ordinary way of judging, we guess at the king's future conduct by what we have seen already; and therefore beg you will excuse us, if, for the present, we defer entering into a rebellion, to which you so graciously invite us. When we have as bad a prospect of our King George's reign, as we should have of your's, then will be your time to date another declaration from your court at Commerci: which, if we may be allowed to propheey in our turn, cannot possibly happen before the hundred and fiftieth year of your reign.

Having considered the past and future grievances mentioned in your declaration, we come now to the present; all of which are founded upon this supposition, that whatever is done by his majesty or his minis-

ters to keep you out of the British throne, is a grievance. These, sir, may be grievances to you, but they are none to us. On the contrary, we look upon them, as the greatest instances of his majesty's care and tenderness for his people. To take them in order: the first relates to the ministry, who are chosen, as you observe very rightly, out of the worst, and not the best of 'your' subjects. Now, sir, can you in conscience think us to be such fools as to rebel against the king, for having employed those who are his most eminent friends, and were the greatest sufferers in his cause, before he came to the crown; and for having removed a general, who is now actually in arms against him, and two secretaries of state, both of whom have listed themselves in your service; or because he chose to substitute in their places, such men who had distinguished themselves by their zeal against you, in the most famous battles, negociations, and debates.

The second grievance you mention, is, that the glory of the late queen has suffered, who, you insinuate, 'had secured to you the enjoyment of that inheritance, out of which you had been so long kept.' This may, indeed, be a reason why her memory should be precious with you; but you may be sure we shall think never the better of her, for her having your good word. For the same reason, it makes us stare, when we hear it objected to his present majesty, 'that he is not kind to her faithful servants;' since, if we can believe what you yourself say, it is impossible they should be 'his faithful servants.' And by the way, many of your private friends here, wish you would forbear babbling at that rate: for to tell you a secret, we are very apt to suspect that any Englishman who deserves your praise deserves to be hanged.

The next grievance, which you have a mighty mind to redress among us, is the parliament of Great Britain, against whom you bring a stale accusation, which has been used by every minority in the memory of man; namely, that it was procured by unwarrantable influences and corruptions. We cannot, indeed, blame you

for being angry at those, who have set such a round price upon your head. Your accusation of our high court of parliament, puts us in mind of a story, often told among us freeholders, concerning a rattle-brained young fellow, who being indicted for two or three pranks upon the highway, told the judge he would swear the peace against him, for putting him in fear of his life.

The next grievance is such a one, that we are amazed how it could come into your head. Your words are as follow. 'Whilst the principal powers engaged in the late wars, do enjoy the blessings of peace, and are attentive to discharge their debts, and ease their people, Great Britain, in the midst of peace, feels all the load of war. New debts are contracted, new armies are raised at home, Dutch forces are brought into these kingdoms.' What in the name of wonder do you mean? Are you in earnest, or do you design to banter us? Whom is the nation obliged to, for all this load of war that it feels? Had you been wise enough to have slept at Bar-le-duc in a whole skin, we should not have contracted new debts, raised new armies, or brought over Dutch forces to make an example of you.

The most pleasant grievance is still behind, and, indeed, a most proper one to close up this. 'King George has taken possession of the duchy of Bremen, whereby a door is opened to let in an inundation of foreigners from abroad, and to reduce these nations to the state of a province to one of the most inconsiderable provinces of the empire.' And do you then really believe the mob-story, that King George designs to make a bridge of boats from Hanover to Wapping? We would have you know, that some of us read Baker's Chronicle, and do not find that William the Conqueror ever thought of making England a province to his native duchy of Normandy, notwithstanding it lay so much more convenient for that purpose: nor that King James the first had ever any thoughts of reducing this nation to the state of a province to his ancient kingdom of Scotland, though it lies upon the same continent.

But pray how comes it to pass that the Electorate of Hanover is become all of a sudden one of the most inconsiderable provinces of the empire? If you undervalue it upon the account of its religion, you have some reason for what you say; though you should not think we are such strangers to maps, and live so much out of the world, as to be ignorant that it is for power and extent the second Protestant state in Germany; and whether you know it or no, the Protestant religion in the empire is looked upon as a sufficient balance against popery. Besides, you should have considered, that in your declaration upon the king's coming to the throne of Great Britain, you endeavoured to terrify us from receiving him, by representing him 'as a powerful foreign prince, supported by a numerous army of his own subjects.' Be that as it will; we are no more afraid of being a province to Hanover, than the Hanoverians are apprehensive of being a province to Bremen.

We have now taken notice of those great evils which you are come to rescue us from: but as they are such as we have neither felt or seen, we desire you will put yourself to no farther trouble for our sakes.

You afterwards begin a kind of Te Deum, before the time, in that remarkable sentence, 'We adore the wisdom of the Divine Providence, which has opened a way to our restoration, by the success of those very measures that were laid to disappoint us for ever.' We are at a loss to know what you mean by this devout jargon: but by what goes before and follows, we suppose it to be this: that the coming of King George to the crown has made many malecontents, and by that means opened a way to your restoration; whereas, you should consider, that, if he had not come to the crown, the way had been open of itself. In the same pious paragraph, 'You most earnestly conjure us to pursue those methods for your restoration, which the finger of God seems to point out to us.' Now the only methods which we can make use of for that end, are civil war, rapine, bloodshed, treason, and perjury; methods which we Protes-

tants do humbly conceive, can never be pointed out to us by the finger of God.

The rest of your declaration contains the encouragements you give us to rebel. First, you promise to share with us 'all dangers and difficulties' which we shall meet with in this worthy enterprise. You are very much in the right of it: you have nothing to lose, and hope to get a crown: we do not hope for any new freeholds, and only desire to keep what we have. As, therefore, you are in the right to undergo dangers and difficulties to make yourself our master, we shall think ourselves as much in the right to undergo dangers and difficulties to hinder you from being so.*

Secondly, You promise to 'refer your and our interest to a Scotch parliament,' which you are resolved to call immediately. We suppose you mean if the frost holds. But, sir, we are certainly informed there is a parliament now sitting at Westminster, that are busy at present in taking care both of the Scotch and English interest, and have actually done every thing which you would 'let' be done by our representatives in the Highlands.

Thirdly, 'You promise that if we will rebel for you against our present sovereign, you will remit and discharge all crimes of high-treason, misprision, and all other crimes and offences whatsoever, done or committed against you or your father.' But will you answer in this case, that King George will forgive us? Otherwise we beseech you to consider what poor comfort it would be for a British freeholder to be conveyed up Holborn with your pardon in his pocket. And here we cannot but remark, that the conditions of your general pardon are so stinted, as to shew that you are very cautious lest your good nature should carry you too far. You exclude from the benefit of it, all those who do not

* The honest freeholders conclude too fast, in this place. The inference from their own premises is only this.—*We shall think ourselves as much in the right to undergo no dangers and difficulties to assist you in being so.*

'from the time of your landing lay hold on mercy, and return to their duty and allegiance.' By this means all neuters and lookers-on are to be executed of course: and by the studied ambiguity in which you couch the terms of your gracious pardon, you still leave room to gratify yourself in all the pleasures of tyranny and revenge.

Upon the whole, we have so bad an opinion of rebellion, as well as of your motives to it, and rewards for it, that you may rest satisfied, there are few freeholders on this side the Forth who will engage in it: and we verily believe that you will suddenly take a resolution in your cabinet of Highlanders to scamper off with your new crown, which we are told the ladies of those parts have so generously clubbed for. And you may assure yourself that it is the only one you are like to get by this notable expedition. And so we bid you heartily farewel.

Dated Jan. 19, in the second year of our public happiness.

No. 10. MONDAY, JANUARY 23.

Potior visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio.
SALL.

ONE may venture to affirm, that all honest and disinterested Britons of what party soever, if they understood one another, are of the same opinion in points of government: and that the gross of the people, who are imposed upon by terms which they do not comprehend, are whigs in their hearts. They are made to believe, that passive obedience and non-resistance, unlimited power and indefeasible right, have something of a venerable and religious meaning in them; whereas in reality they only imply, that a king of Great Britain has a right

to be a tyrant, and that his subjects are obliged in conscience to be slaves. Were the case truly and fairly laid before them, they would know, that when they make a profession of such principles, they renounce their legal claim to liberty and property, and unwarily submit to what they really abhor.

It is our happiness, under the present reign, to hear our king from the throne exhorting us to be 'zealous assertors of the liberties of our country;' which exclude all pretensions to an arbitrary, tyrannic, despotic power. Those, who have the misfortune to live under such a power, have no other law but the will of their prince, and consequently no privileges, but what are precarious. For though in some arbitrary governments there may be a body of laws observed in the ordinary forms of justice, they are not sufficient to secure any rights to the people; because they may be dispensed with, or laid aside, at the pleasure of the sovereign.

And here it very much imports us to consider, that arbitrary power naturally tends to make a man a bad sovereign, who might possibly have been a good one, had he been invested with an authority limited and circumscribed by laws. None can doubt of this tendency in arbitrary power, who consider, that *it fills* the mind of man with great and unreasonable conceits of himself; raises him into a belief, that he is of a superior species to his subjects; extinguishes in him the principle of fear, which is one of the greatest motives to all duties; and creates an ambition of magnifying himself, by the exertion of such a power in all its instances. So great is the danger, that when a sovereign can do what he will, he will do what he can.

One of the most arbitrary princes in our age was Muley Ishmael, Emperor of Morocco, who, after a long reign, died about a twelve-month ago. This prince was a man of much wit and natural sense, of an active temper, undaunted courage, and great application. He was a descendant of Mahomet; and so exemplary for his adherence to the law of his prophet, that he abstained all his life from the taste of wine; began the annual

fast, or Lent of Ramadan, two months before his subjects; was frequent in his prayers; and that he might not want opportunities of kneeling, had fixed in all the spacious courts of his palace large consecrated stones pointing towards the east, for any occasional exercise of his devotion. What might not have been hoped from a prince of these endowments, had they not been all rendered useless and ineffectual to the good of his people by the notion of that power which they ascribed to him! This will appear, if we consider how he exercised it towards his subjects in those three great points which are the chief ends of government, the preservation of their lives, the security of their fortunes, and the determinations of justice between man and man.

Foreign envoys, who have given an account of their audiences, describe this holy man mounted on horseback in an open court, with several of his Alcaydes, or governors of provinces about him, standing bare-foot, trembling, bowing to the earth, and at every word he spoke, breaking out into passionate exclamations of praise, as, 'Great is the wisdom of our lord the king; our lord the king speaks as an angel from heaven.' Happy was the man among them, who was so much a favourite as to be sent on an errand to the most remote street in his capital; which he performed with the greatest alacrity, ran through every puddle that lay in his way, and took care to return out of breath and covered with dirt, that he might shew himself a diligent and faithful minister. His majesty at the same time, to exhibit the greatness of his power, and shew his horsemanship, seldom dismissed the foreigner from his presence, 'till he had entertained him with the slaughter of two or three of his liege subjects, whom he very dexterously put to death with the tilt of his lance. St. Olon, the French envoy, tells us, that when he had his last audience of him, he received him in robes just stained with an execution; and that he was blooded up to his elbows by a couple of Moors, whom he had been butchering with his own imperial hands. By the calculation of that author, and many others, who have

since given an account of his exploits, we may reckon that by his own arm he killed above forty thousand of his people. To render himself the more awful, he chose to wear a garb of a particular colour when he was bent upon executions; so that when he appeared in yellow, his great men hid themselves in corners, and durst not pay their court to him, till he had satiated his thirst of blood by the death of some of his loyal commoners, or of such unwary officers of state as chanced to come in his way. Upon this account we are told, that the first news inquired after every morning at Mequinez, was, Whether the emperor were stirring, and in a good or bad humour? As this prince was a great admirer of architecture, and employed many thousands in works of that kind, if he did not approve the plan or the performance, it was usual for him to shew the delicacy of his taste by demolishing the building, and putting to death all that had a hand in it. I have heard but of one instance of his mercy; which was shewn to the master of an English vessel. This our countryman presented him with a curious hatchet, which he received very graciously; and asking him whether it had a good edge, tried it upon the donor, who slipping aside from the blow, escaped with the loss only of his right ear; for old Muley, upon second thoughts, considering that it was not one of his own subjects, stopped his hand, and would not send him to Paradise. I cannot quit this article of his tenderness for the lives of his people, without mentioning one of his queens, whom he was remarkably fond of; as also a favourite prime minister, who was very dear to him. The first died by a kick of her lord the king, when she was big with child, for having gathered a flower as she was walking with him in his pleasure garden. The other was bastinadoed to death by his majesty; who, repenting of the drubs he had given him when it was too late, to manifest his esteem for the memory of so worthy a man, executed the surgeon that could not cure him.

This absolute monarch was as notable a guardian of the fortunes, as of the lives of his subjects. When any

man among his people grew rich, in order to keep him from being dangerous to the state, he used to send for all his goods and chattels. His governors of towns and provinces, who formed themselves upon the example of their *Grand Monarque*, practised rapine, violence, extortion, and all the arts of despotic government in their respective districts, that they might be the better enabled to make him their yearly presents. For the greatest of his viceroys could only propose to himself a comfortable subsistence out of the plunder of his province, and was in certain danger of being recalled or hanged, if he did not remit the bulk of it to his dread sovereign. That he might make a right use of these prodigious treasures, which flowed in to him from all the parts of his wide empire, he took care to bury them under ground, by the hands of his most trusty slaves, and then cut their throats, as the most effectual method to keep them from making discoveries. These were his Ways and Means for raising money, by which he weakened the hands of the factious, and in any case of emergency, could employ the whole wealth of his empire, which he had thus amassed together in his subterraneous exchequer.

As there is no such thing as property under an arbitrary government, you may learn what was Muley Ishmael's notion of it from the following story. Being upon the road, amidst his life-guards, a little before the time of the Ram-feast, he met one of his Alcaydes at the head of his servants, who were driving a great flock of sheep to market. The emperor asked whose they were: the Alcayde answered with profound submission, 'They are mine, O Ishmael, son of Elcherif, of the line of Hassan.' 'Thine! thou son of a cuckold,' said this servant of the Lord, 'I thought I had been the only proprietor in this country;' upon which he run him through the body with his lance, and very piously distributed the sheep among his guards, for the celebration of the feast.

His determinations of justice between man and man, were indeed very summary and decisive, and generally

put an end to the vexations of a law-suit, by the ruin both of plaintiff and defendant. Travellers have recorded some samples of this kind, which may give us an idea of the blessings of his administration. One of his Alcaydes complaining to him of a wife, whom he had received from his majesty's hands, and therefore could not divorce her, that she used to pull him by the beard; the emperor, to redress this grievance, ordered his beard to be plucked up by the roots, that he might not be liable to any more such affronts. A country farmer having accused some of his negro guards for robbing him of a drove of oxen, the emperor readily shot the offenders: but afterwards demanding reparation of the accuser, for the loss of so many brave fellows, and finding him insolvent, compounded the matter with him by taking away his life. There are many other instances of the same kind. I must observe, however, under this head, that the only good thing he is celebrated for, during his whole reign, was the clearing of the roads and high-ways of robbers, with which they used to be very much infested. But his method was to slay man, woman, and child, who lived within a certain distance from the place, where the robbery was committed. This extraordinary piece of justice could not but have its effect, by making every road in his empire unsafe for the profession of a free-booter.

I must not omit this emperor's reply to Sir Cloudesly Shovel, who had taken several of his subjects by way of reprisal, for the English captives that were detained in his dominions. Upon the admiral's offering to exchange them on very advantageous terms, this good emperor sent him word, The subjects he had taken were poor men, not worth the ransoming; and that he might throw them overboard, or destroy them otherwise as he pleased.

Such was the government of Müley Ishmael, 'the servant of God, the emperor of the faithful, who was courageous in the way of the Lord, the noble, the good.'

To conclude this account, which is extracted from the best authorities, I shall only observe, that he was a

great admirer of his late most Christian majesty. In a letter to him, he compliments him with the title of 'sovereign arbiter of the actions and wills of his people.' And in a book published by a Frenchman, who was sent to him as an ambassador, is the following passage, 'He is absolute in his states, and often compares himself to the emperor of France, who he says is the only person that knows how to reign like himself, and to make his will the law.'

This was that emperor of France to whom the person who has a great mind to be king of these realms owed his education, and from whom he learned his notions of government. What should hinder one, whose mind is so well seasoned with such prepossessions, from attempting to copy after his patron, in the exercise of such a power; especially considering that the party who espouse his interest, never fail to compliment a prince that distributes all his places among them, with unlimited power on his part, and unconditional obedience on that of his subjects.

No. 11. FRIDAY, JANUARY 27.

Honi soit qui mal y pense:

By our latest advices, both from town and country, it appears, that the ladies of Great Britain, who are able to bear arms, that is, to smile or frown to any purpose, have already begun to commit hostilities upon the men of each opposite party. To this end we are assured, that many of them on both sides exercise before their glasses every morning; that they have already cashiered several of their followers as mutineers, who have contradicted them in some political conversations; and that the whig ladies in particular, design very soon to have a general review of their forces at a play bespoken by

one of their leaders. This set of ladies, indeed, as they daily do duty at court, are much more expert in the use of their airs and graces than their female antagonists, who are most of them bred in the country: so that the sisterhood of loyalists, in respect of the fair malecontents, are like an army of regular forces, compared with a raw undisciplined militia.

It is to this misfortune in their education that we may ascribe the rude and opprobrious language with which the disaffected part of the sex treat the present royal family. A little lively rustic, who hath been trained up in ignorance and prejudice, will prattle treason a whole winter's evening, and string together a parcel of silly seditious stories, that are equally void of decency and truth. Nay, you sometimes meet with a zealous matron, who sets up for the pattern of a parish, uttering such invectives as are highly mis-becoming her, both as a woman and a subject. In answer, therefore, to such disloyal termagants, I shall repeat to them a speech of the honest and blunt duke du Sully, to an assembly of popish ladies, who were railing very bitterly against Henry the fourth, at his accession to the French throne; 'Ladies,' said he, 'you have a very good king, if you know when you are well. However, set your hearts at rest, for he is not a man to be scolded or scratched out of his kingdom.'

But as I never care to speak of the fair sex, unless I have an occasion to praise them, I shall take my leave of these ungentle damsels; and only beg of them, not to make themselves less amiable than nature designed them, by being rebels to the best of their abilities, and endeavouring to bring their country into bloodshed and confusion. Let me, therefore, recommend to them the example of those beautiful associates, whom I mentioned in my eighth paper, as I have received the particulars of their behaviour from the person with whom I lodged their association.

This association being written at length in a large roll of the finest vellum, with three distinct columns for the maids, wives, and widows, was opened for the

subscribers near a fortnight ago. Never was a subscription for a raffling or an opera more crowded. There is scarce a celebrated beauty about town that you may not find in one of the three lists; insomuch, that if a man, who did not know the design, should read only the names of the subscribers, he would fancy every column to be a catalogue of toasts. Mr. Motteux has been heard to say more than once, that if he had the portraits of all the associates, they would make a finer auction of pictures, than he or any body else had exhibited.

Several of these ladies, indeed, criticised upon the form of the association. One of them, after the perusal of it, wondered that among the features to be used in defence of their country, there was no mention made of *teeth*; upon which she smiled very charmingly, and discovered as fine a set as ever eye beheld. Another, who was a tall lovely prude, holding up her head in a most majestic manner, said, with some disdain, she thought a *good neck* might have done his majesty as much service as smiles or dimples. A third looked upon the association as defective, because so necessary a word as *hands* was omitted; and by her manner of taking up the pen, it was easy to guess the reason of her objection.

Most of the persons who associated, have done much more than by the letter of the association they were obliged to; having not only set their names to it, but subscribed their several aids and subsidies for the carrying on so good a cause. In the virgin column is one who subscribes fifteen lovers, all of them good men and true. There is another who subscribes five admirers, with one tall handsome black man fit to be a colonel. In short, there is scarce one in this list who does not engage herself to supply a quota of brisk young fellows, many of them already equipt with hats and feathers. Among the rest, was a pretty sprightly coquette, with sparkling eyes, who subscribed two quivers of arrows.

In the column of wives, the first that took pen in hand, writ her own name and one vassal, meaning her husband. Another subscribes her husband and three

sons. Another her husband and six coach-horses. Most in this catalogue paired themselves with their respective mates, answering for them as men of honest principles, and fit for the service.

N. B. There were two in this column that wore association ribbons: the first of them subscribed her husband, and her husband's friend; the second a husband and five lovers; but upon inquiry into their characters, they are both of them found to be tories, who hung out false colours to be spies upon the association, or to insinuate to the world by their subscriptions, as if a lady of whig principles could love any man besides her husband.

The widow's column is headed by a fine woman who calls herself Boadicea, and subscribes six hundred tenants. It was, indeed, observed that the strength of the association lay most in this column; every widow, in proportion to her jointure, having a great number of admirers, and most of them distinguished as able men. Those who have examined this list, compute that there may be three regiments raised out of it, in which there shall not be one man under six foot high.

I must not conclude this account, without taking notice of the association-ribbon, by which these beautiful confederates have agreed to distinguish themselves. It is, indeed, so very pretty an ornament, that I wonder any English woman will be without it. A lady of the association who bears this badge of allegiance upon her breast, naturally produces a desire in every male beholder, of gaining a place in a heart which carries on it such a visible mark of its fidelity. When the beauties of our island are thus industrious to shew their principles as well as their charms, they raise the sentiments of their countrymen, and inspire them at the same time both with loyalty and love. What numbers of proselytes may we not expect, when the most amiable of the Britons thus exhibit to their admirers the only terms upon which they are to hope for any correspondence or alliance with them! It is well known that the greatest blow the French nation ever received, was the dropping

of a fine lady's garter, in the reign of King Edward the third. The most remarkable battles which have been since gained over that nation, were fought under the auspices of a blue ribbon. As our British ladies have still the same faces, and our men the same hearts, why may we not hope for the same glorious achievements from the influence of this beautiful breast-knot?

No. 12. MONDAY, JANUARY 30.

Quapropter, de summâ salute vestrâ, P. C. de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis, de fanis ac templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio, de libertate, de salute patriæ, deque universâ republicâ decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter.

CICERO.

THIS day having been set apart by public authority to raise in us an abhorrence of the great rebellion, which involved this nation in so many calamities, and ended in the murder of their sovereign; it may not be unseasonable to shew the guilt of rebellion in general, and of that rebellion in particular which is stirred up against his present majesty.

That rebellion is one of the most heinous crimes which it is in the power of man to commit, may appear from several considerations. First, As it destroys the end of all government, and the benefits of civil society. Government was instituted for maintaining the peace, safety, and happiness of a people. These great ends are brought about by a general conformity and submission to that frame of laws which is established in every community, for the protection of the innocent, and the punishment of the guilty. As on the one side men are secured in the quiet possession of their lives, properties, and every thing they have a right to: so on the other side, those who offer them any injury in these particulars, are subject to penalties proportioned to their respective offences. Government, therefore, mitigates

the inequality of power among particular persons, and makes an innocent man, though of the lowest rank, a match for the mightiest of his fellow-subjects; since he has the force of the whole community on his side, which is able to control the insolence or injustice of any private oppressor. Now rebellion disappoints all these ends and benefits of government, by raising a power in opposition to that authority which has been established among a people for their mutual welfare and defence. So that rebellion is as great an evil to society, as government itself is a blessing.

In the next place, rebellion is a violation of those engagements, which every government exacts from such persons as live under it; and consequently, the most base and pernicious instance of treachery and perfidiousness. The guilt of rebellion increases in proportion as these engagements are more solemn and obligatory. Thus if a man makes his way to rebellion through perjury, he gives additional horrors to that crime, which is in itself of the blackest nature.

We may likewise consider rebellion as a greater complication of wickedness than any other crime we can commit. It is big with rapine, sacrilege, and murder. It is dreadful in its mildest effects, as it impoverishes the public; ruins particular families; begets and perpetuates hatreds among fellow-subjects, friends, and relations; makes a country the seat of war and desolation, and exposes it to the attempts of its foreign enemies. In short, as it is impossible for it to take effect, or to make the smallest progress, but through a continued course of violence and bloodshed; a robber or a murderer looks like an innocent man, when we compare him with a rebel.

I shall only add, that as in the subordination of a government the king is offended by any insults or oppositions to an inferior magistrate; so the sovereign ruler of the universe is affronted by a breach of allegiance to those whom he has set over us: Providence having delegated to the supreme magistrate in every country the same power for the good of men, which that supreme

magistrate transfers to those several officers and substitutes who act under him, for the preserving of order and justice.

Now if we take a view of the present rebellion which is formed against his majesty, we shall find in it all the guilt that is naturally inherent in this crime, without any single circumstance to alleviate it. Insurrections among a people to rescue themselves from the most violent and illegal oppressions; to throw off a tyranny that makes property precarious, and life painful; to preserve their laws and their religion to themselves and their posterity; are excused from the necessity of such an undertaking, when no other means are left for the security of every thing that is dear and valuable to reasonable creatures. By the frame of our constitution, the duties of protection and allegiance are reciprocal; and as the safety of a community is the ultimate end and design of government, when this, instead of being preserved, is manifestly destroyed, civil societies are excusable before God and man, if they endeavour to recover themselves out of so miserable a condition. For in such a case government becomes an evil instead of a blessing, and is not at all preferable to a state of anarchy and mutual independence. For these reasons, we have scarce ever yet heard of an insurrection that was not either coloured with grievances of the highest kind, or countenanced by one or more branches of the legislature. But the present rebellion is formed against a king, whose right has been established by frequent parliaments of all parties, and recognised by the most solemn oaths; who has not been charged with one illegal proceeding; who acts in perfect concert with the lords and commons of the realm; who is famed for his equity and goodness, and has already very much advanced the reputation and interest of our country. The guilt, therefore, of this rebellion, has in it all the most aggravating circumstances; which will still appear more plainly, if we consider, in the first place, the real motives to it.

The rebellion, which was one of the most flagitious

in itself, and described with the most horror by historians, is that of Cataline and his associates. The motives to it are displayed at large by the Roman writers, in order to inspire the reader with the utmost detestation of it. Cataline, the chief of the rebellion, had been disappointed in his competition for one of the first offices in the government, and had involved himself in such private debts and difficulties, as nothing could extricate him out of, but the ruin of an administration that would not intrust him with posts of honour or profit. His principal accomplices were men of the same character, and animated by the same incentives. They complained that power was lodged in the hands of the worst, to the oppression of the best; and that places were conferred on unworthy men, to the exclusion of themselves and their friends. Many of them were afraid of public justice for past crimes, and some of them stood actually condemned as traitors to their country. These were joined by men of desperate fortunes, who hoped to find their account in the confusions of their country, were applauded by the meanest of the rabble, who always delighted in change, and privately abetted by persons of a considerable figure, who aimed at those honours and preferments which were in the possession of their rivals. These are the motives with which Cataline's rebellion is branded in history, and which are expressly mentioned by Sallust. I shall leave it to every unprejudiced reader to compare them with the motives which have kindled the present rebellion in his majesty's dominions.

As this rebellion is of the most criminal nature from its motives, so it is likewise if we consider its consequences. Should it succeed, (a supposition which, God be thanked, is very extravagant) what must be the natural effects of it upon our religion! what could we expect from an army, blest by the pope, headed by a zealous Roman Catholic, encouraged by the most bigotted princes of the church of Rome, supported by contributions not only from these several potentates, but from the wealthiest of their convents, and officered by

Irish papists and out-laws! Can we imagine that the Roman Catholics of our own nation would so heartily embark in an enterprise, to the visible hazard of their lives and fortunes, did they only hope to enjoy their religion under those laws which are now in force? In short, the danger to the Protestant cause is so manifest, that it would be an affront to the understanding of the reader to endeavour farther to prove it.

Arbitrary power is so interwoven with popery, and so necessary to introduce it, so agreeable to the education of the Pretender, so conformable to the principles of his adherents, and so natural to the insolence of conquerors, that should our invader gain the sovereign power by violence, there is no doubt but he would preserve it by tyranny. I shall leave to the reader's own consideration, the change of property in general, and the utter extinction of it in our national funds, the inundation of nobles without estates, prelates without bishoprics, officers civil and military without places; and in short, the several occasions of rapine and revenge, which would necessarily ensue upon such a fatal revolution. But by the blessing of Providence, and the wisdom of his majesty's administration, this melancholy prospect is as distant as it is dreadful.

These are the consequences which would necessarily attend the success of the present rebellion. But we will now suppose that the event of it should for some time remain doubtful. In this case we are to expect all the miseries of a civil war: nay, the armies of the greatest foreign princes would be subsisted,[a] and all the battles of Europe fought in England. The rebels have already shewn us, that they want no inclination to promote their cause by fire and sword, where they have an opportunity of practising their barbarities. Should such a fierce and rapacious host of men, as that which is now in the highlands, fall down into our country, that is so well peopled, adorned, and cultivated, how would their

[a] *Subsisted*—the proper word is *maintained*, or *supported*. To *subsist*, is a neutral verb, and cannot be used, as here, in a passive sense.

march be distinguished by ravage and devastation! might not we say of them in the sublime and beautiful words of the prophet, describing the progress of an enraged army from the north; 'Before them is as the garden of Eden, and behind them as the desolate wilderness; yea, and nothing shall escape them.'

What then can we think of a party, who would plunge their native country into such evils as these; when the only avowed motive for their proceedings is a point of theory, that has been already determined by those who are proper judges, and in whose determination we have so many years acquiesced. If the calamities of the nation in general can make no impression on them, let them at least, in pity to themselves, their friends and dependants, forbear all open and secret methods of encouraging a rebellion, so destructive, and so unprovoked. All human probabilities are against them; and they cannot expect success, but from a miraculous interposition of the Almighty. And this we may with all christian humility hope, will not turn against us, who observe those oaths which we have made in his presence; who are zealous for the safety of that religion, which we think most acceptable in his sight; and who endeavour to preserve that constitution which is most conducive to the happiness of our country.

No. 13. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3.

Ignavum fucos pecus à præsepibus arcent.

VIRG.

THE most common, and indeed the most natural division of all offences, is into those of omission and commission. We may make the same division of that particular set of crimes which regard human society. The greatest crime which can be committed against it is re-

bellion; as was shewn in my last paper. The greatest crime of omission, is an indifference in the particular members of a society, when a rebellion is actually begun among them. In such a juncture, though a man may be innocent of the great breach which is made upon government, he is highly culpable, if he does not use all the means that are suitable to his station, for reducing the community into its former state of peace and good order.

Our obligation to be active on such an occasion appears from the nature of civil government, which is an institution, whereby we are all confederated together for our mutual defence and security. Men who profess a state of neutrality in times of public danger, desert the common interest of their fellow-subjects; and act with independence to[a] that constitution into which they are incorporated. The safety of the whole requires our joint endeavours. When this is at stake, the indifferent are not properly a part of the community; or rather are like dead limbs, which are an encumbrance to the body, instead of being of use to it. Besides that, the protection which all receive from the same government, justly calls upon the gratitude of all to strengthen it, as well as upon their self-interest to preserve it.

But farther; if men, who in their hearts are friends to a government, forbear giving it their utmost assistance against its enemies, they put it in the power of a few desperate men to ruin the welfare of those who are much superior to them in strength, number, and interest. It was a remarkable law of Solon, the great legislator of the Athenians, that any person who in the civil tumults and commotions of the republic remained neuter, or an indifferent spectator of the contending parties, should, after the re-establishment of the public peace, forfeit all his possessions, and be condemned to perpetual banishment. This law made it necessary for every citizen to take his party, because it was highly

[a] *To*] Rather *on*. But the expression is hardly English. It should be—*and act, as if they had no dependance on.*

probable the majority would be so wise as to espouse that cause which was most agreeable to the public weal, and by that means hinder a sedition from making a successful progress. At least, as every prudent and honest man, who might otherwise favour any indolence in his own temper, was hereby engaged to be active, such a one would be sure to join himself to that side which had the good of their country most at heart. For this reason their famous law-giver condemned the persons who sat idle in divisions so dangerous to the government, as aliens to the community, and therefore to be cut off from it as unprofitable members.

Further; Indifference cannot but be criminal, when it is conversant about objects which are so far from being of an indifferent nature, that they are of the highest importance to ourselves and our country. If it be indifferent to us whether we are free subjects or slaves; whether our prince be of our own religion, or of one that obliges him to extirpate it; we are in the right to give ourselves no trouble in the present juncture. A man governs himself by the dictates of virtue and good sense, who acts without zeal or passion in points that are of no consequence: but when the whole community is shaken, and the safety of the public endangered, the appearance of a philosophical or an affected indolence must arise either from stupidity, or perfidiousness.

When in the division of parties among us, men only strove for the first place in the prince's favour; when all were attached to the same form of government, and contended only for the highest offices in it; a prudent and an honest man might look upon the struggle with indifference, and be in no great pain for the success of either side. But at present the contest is not in reality between Whigs and Tories, but between Loyalists and Rebels. Our country is not now divided into two parties, who propose the same end by different means; but into such as would preserve and such as would destroy it. Whatever denominations we might range ourselves under in former times, men who have any natural love to their country, or sense of their duty, should exert

their united strength in a cause that is common to all parties, as they are Protestants and Britons. In such a case, an avowed indifference is treachery to our fellow-subjects; and a lukewarm allegiance may prove as pernicious in its consequences as treason.

I need not repeat here what I have proved at large in a former paper, that we are obliged to an active obedience by the solemn oaths we have taken to his majesty; and that the neutral kind of indifference, which is the subject of this paper, falls short of that obligation they lie under, who have taken such oaths; as will easily appear to any one who considers the form of those sacred and religious engagements.

How then can any man answer it to himself, if, for the sake of managing his interest or character among a party, or out of any personal pique to those who are the most conspicuous for their zeal in his majesty's service, or from any other private and self-interested motive, he stands as a looker-on when the government is attacked by an open rebellion? especially when those engaged in it, cannot have the least prospect of success, but by the assistance of the ancient and hereditary enemies to the British nation. It is strange that these lukewarm friends to the government, whose zeal for their sovereign rises and falls with their credit at court, do not consider, before it be too late, that as they strengthen the rebels by their present indifference, they at the same time establish the interest of those who are their rivals and competitors for public posts of honour. When there is an end put to this rebellion, these gentlemen cannot pretend to have had any merit in so good a work: and they may well believe the nation will never care to see those men in the highest offices of trust, who when they are out of them, will not stir a finger in its defence.

No. 14. MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6.

Periculosum est credere, et non credere:
Utriusque exemplum breviter exponam rei.
Hippolytus obiit, quia novercæ creditum est:
Cassandræ quia non creditum, ruit Ilium.
Ergo exploranda est veritas multùm priùs,
Quàm stulta pravè judicet sententia.

PHÆDR.

HAVING in the seventh paper considered many of those falsehoods, by which the cause of our malecontents is supported; I shall here speak of that extravagant credulity, which disposes each particular member of their party to believe them. This strange alacrity in believing absurdity and inconsistence may be called the political faith of a tory.

A person who is thoroughly endowed with this political faith, like a man in a dream, is entertained from one end of his life to the other with objects that have no reality or existence. He is daily nourished and kept in humour by fiction and delusion; and may be compared to the old obstinate knight in Rabelais, that every morning swallowed a chimera for his breakfast.

This political faith of a malecontent is altogether founded on hope. He does not give credit to any thing because it is probable, but because it is pleasing. His wishes serve him instead of reasons, to confirm the truth of what he hears. There is no report so incredible or contradictory in itself which he doth not chearfully believe, if it tends to the advancement of the cause. In short, a malecontent who is a good believer, has generally reason to repeat the celebrated rant of an ancient father, 'Credo quia impossibile est:' which is as much as to say, 'It must be true, because it is impossible.'

It has been very well observed, that the most credulous man in the world is the atheist, who believes the universe to be the production of chance. In the same manner a tory, who is the greatest believer in what is

improbable, is the greatest infidel in what is certain. Let a friend to the government relate to him a matter of fact, he turns away his ear from him, and gives him the lie in every look. But if one of his own stamp should tell him that the king of Sweden would be suddenly at Perth, and that his army is now actually marching thither upon the ice; he hugs himself at the good news, and gets drunk upon it before he goes to bed. This sort of people puts one in mind of several towns in Europe that are inaccessible on the one side, while they lie open and unguarded on the other. The minds of our malecontents are indeed so depraved with those falsehoods which they are perpetually imbibing, that they have a natural relish for error, and have quite lost the taste of truth in political matters. I shall therefore dismiss this head with a saying of King Charles the second. This monarch, when he was at Windsor, used to amuse himself with the conversation of the famous Vossius, who was full of stories relating to the antiquity, learning, and manners, of the Chinese; and at the same time a free-thinker in points of religion. The king, upon hearing him repeat some incredible accounts of these eastern people, turning to those who were about him, 'This learned divine,' said he, 'is a very strange man: he believes every thing but the bible.'

Having thus far considered the political faith of the party as it regards matters of fact, let us, in the next place, take a view of it with respect to those doctrines which it embraces, and which are the fundamental points whereby they are distinguished from those, whom they used to represent as enemies to the constitution in church and state. How far their great articles of political faith, with respect to our ecclesiastical and civil government, are consistent with themselves, and agreeable to reason and truth, may be seen in the following paradoxes, which are the essentials of a tory's creed, with relation to political matters. Under the name of tories, I do not here comprehend multitudes of well-designing men, who were formerly included under that denomination, but are now in the interest of his majesty

and the present government. These have already seen the evil tendency of such principles, which are the Credenda of the party, as it is opposite to that of the whigs.

ARTICLE I.

That the church of England will be always in danger, till it has a popish king for its defender.

II.

That, for the safety of the church, no subject should be tolerated in any religion different from the established; but that the head of our church may be of that religion which is most repugnant to it.

III.

That the Protestant interest in this nation, and in all Europe, could not but flourish under the protection of one, who thinks himself obliged, on pain of damnation, to do all that lies in his power for the extirpation of it.

IV.

That we may safely rely upon the promises of one, whose religion allows him to make them, and at the same time obliges him to break them.

V.

That a good man should have a greater abhorrence of Presbyterianism which is perverseness, than of Popery which is but idolatry.

VI.

That a person who hopes to be King of England by the assistance of France, would naturally adhere to the British interest, which is always opposite to that of the French.

VII.

That a man has no opportunities of learning how to govern the people of England in any foreign country, so well as in France.

VIII.

That ten millions of people should rather chuse to fall into slavery, than not acknowledge their prince to be invested with an hereditary and indefeasible right of oppression.

IX.

That we are obliged in conscience to become subjects of a duke of Savoy, or of a French king, rather than enjoy for our sovereign, a prince who is the first of the royal blood in the Protestant line.

X.

That non-resistance is the duty of every Christian, whilst he is in a good place.

XI.

That we ought to profess the doctrine of passive-obedience until such time as nature rebels against principle, that is, until we are put to the necessity of practising it.

XII.

That the Papists have taken up arms to defend the church of England with the utmost hazard of their lives and fortunes.

XIII.

That there is an unwarrantable faction in this island, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons.

XIV.

That the legislature, when there is a majority of whigs in it, has not power to make laws.

XV.

That an act of parliament to impower the king to secure suspected persons in times of rebellion, is the means to establish the sovereign on the throne, and consequently a great infringement of the liberties of the throne.

No. 15. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10.

———Auxilium, quoniam sic cogitis ipsi,
Dixit, ab hoste petam: vultus avertite vestros,
Si quis amicus adest: et Gorgonis extulit ora.

OVID.

IT is with great pleasure that I see a race of female-patriots springing up in this island. The fairest among

the daughters of Great Britain no longer confine their cares to a domestic life, but are grown anxious for the welfare of their country, and shew themselves good stateswomen as well as good housewives.

Our she-confederates keep pace with us in quashing that rebellion which had begun to spread itself among part of the fair sex. If the men who are true to their king and country have taken Preston and Perth, the ladies have possessed themselves of the opera and the playhouse with as little opposition or bloodshed. The non-resisting women, like their brothers in the Highlands, think no post tenable against an army that makes so fine an appearance; and dare not look them in the face, when they are drawn up in battle-array.

As an instance of this chearfulness in our fair fellow-subjects to oppose the designs of the pretender, I did but suggest in one of my former papers, 'That the fan might be made use of with good success against Popery, by exhibiting the corruptions of the church of Rome in various figures;' when immediately they took the hint, and have since had frequent consultations upon several ways and methods 'to make the fan useful.' They have unanimously agreed upon the following resolutions, which are indeed very suitable to ladies who are at the same time the most beautiful and the most loyal of their sex. To hide their faces behind the fan, when they observe a tory gazing upon them. Never to peep through it, but in order to pick out men, whose principles make them worth the conquest. To return no other answer to a tory's addresses, than by counting the sticks of it all the while he is talking to them. To avoid dropping it in the neighbourhood of a malecontent, that he may not have an opportunity of taking it up. To shew their disbelief of any Jacobite story by a flirt of it. To fall a fanning themselves, when a tory comes into one of their assemblies, as being disordered at the sight of him.

These are the uses by which every fan may in the hands of a fine woman become serviceable to the public. But they have at present under consideration, certain

fans of a Protestant make, that they may have a more extensive influence, and raise an abhorrence of Popery in a whole crowd of beholders: for they intend to let the world see what party they are of, by figures and designs upon these fans; as the knights-errant used to distinguish themselves by devices on their shields.

There are several sketches of pictures which have been already presented to the ladies for their approbation, and out of which several have made their choice. A pretty young lady will very soon appear with a fan, which has on it a nunnery of lively black-eyed vestals, who are endeavouring to creep out at the grates. Another has a fan mounted with a fine paper, on which is represented a group of people upon their knees very devoutly worshipping an old ten-penny nail. A certain lady of great learning has chosen for her device the council of Trent; and another, who has a good satirical turn, has filled her fan with the figure of a huge tawdry woman, representing the whore of Babylon; which she is resolved to spread full in the face of any sister-disputant, whose arguments have a tendency to Popery. The following designs are already executed on several mountings. The ceremony of the holy Pontiff opening the mouth of a cardinal in a full consistory. An old gentleman with a triple crown upon his head, and big with child, being the portrait of Pope Joan. Bishop Bonner purchasing great quantities of faggots and brush-wood, for the conversion of heretics. A figure reaching at a sceptre with one hand, and holding a chaplet of beads in the other: with a distant view of Smithfield.

When our ladies make their zeal thus visible upon their fans, and every time they open them, display an error of the church of Rome, it cannot but have a good effect, by shewing the enemies of our present establishment the folly of what they are contending for. At least, every one must allow that fans are much more innocent engines for propagating the Protestant religion, than racks, wheels, gibbets, and the like machines, which are made use of for the advancement of the Roman Catholic. Besides, as every lady will of course

study her fan, she will be a perfect mistress of the controversy, at least in one point of Popery; and as her curiosity will put her upon the perusal of every other fan that is fashionable, I doubt not but in a very little time there will scarce be a woman of quality in Great Britain, who would not be an over-match for an Irish priest.

The beautiful part of this island, whom I am proud to number amongst the most candid of my readers, will likewise do well to reflect, that our dispute at present concerns our civil as well as religious rights. I shall therefore only offer it to their thoughts as a point that highly deserves their consideration, whether the fan may not also be made use of with regard to our political constitution. As a Freeholder, I would not have them confine their cares for us as we are Protestants, but at the same time have an eye to our happiness as we are Britons. In this case they would give a new turn to the minds of their countrymen, if they would exhibit on their fans the several grievances of a tyrannical government. Why might not an audience of Muley Ishmael, or a Turk dropping his handkerchief in his Seraglio, be proper subjects to express their abhorrence both of despotic power, and of male tyranny? or if they have a fancy for burlesque, what would they think of a French cobler cutting shoes for several of his fellow-subjects out of an old apple-tree? on the contrary, a fine woman, who would maintain the dignity of her sex, might bear a string of galley slaves, dragging their chains the whole breadth of her fan; and at the same time, to celebrate her own triumphs, might order every slave to be drawn with the face of one of her admirers.

I only propose these as hints to my gentle readers, which they may alter or improve as they shall think fit: but cannot conclude without congratulating our country upon this disposition among the most amiable of its inhabitants, to consider in their ornaments the advantage of the public as well as of their persons. It was with the same spirit, though not with the same politeness, that the ancient British women had the figures of

monsters painted on their naked bodies, in order (as our historians tell us) to make themselves beautiful in the eyes of their countrymen, and terrible to their enemies. If this project goes on, we may boast, that our sister whigs have the finest fans, as well as the most beautiful faces, of any ladies in the world. At least, we may venture to foretel, that the figures in their fans will lessen the tory interest, much more than those in the Oxford Almanacs will advance it.

No. 16. MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13.

Itaque quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, Senatus decrevit, darent operam consules ne quid Respublica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per Senatum more Romano magistratui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque cives, domi militiæque imperium atque judicium summum habere. Aliter, sine populi jussu nulli earum rerum Consuli jus est.

SALL.

IT being the design of these papers to reconcile men to their own happiness, by removing those wrong notions and prejudices which hinder them from seeing the advantage of themselves and their posterity in the present establishment, I cannot but take notice of every thing that by the artifice of our enemies is made a matter of complaint.

Of this nature is the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, by which his Majesty has been enabled, in these times of danger, to seize and detain the persons of such, who he had reason to believe were conspiring against his person and government. The expediency and reasonableness of such a temporary suspension in the present juncture may appear to every considerate man, who will turn his thoughts impartially on this subject.

I have chosen in points of this nature to draw my arguments from the first principles of government, which, as they are of no party, but assented to by

every reasonable man, carry the greater weight with them, and are accommodated to the notions of all my readers. Every one knows, who has considered the nature of government, that there must be in each particular form of it an absolute and unlimited power; and that this power is lodged in the hands of those, who have the making of its laws, whether by the nature of the constitution it be in one or more persons, in a single order of men, or in a mixt body of different ranks and degrees. It is an absurdity to imagine that those, who have the authority of making laws, cannot suspend any particular law, when they think it expedient for the public. Without such a power all government would be defective, and not armed with a sufficient force for its own security. As self-preservation by all honest methods is the first duty of every community as well as of every private person, so the public safety is the general view of all laws. When, therefore, any law does not conduce to this great end, but on the contrary in some extraordinary and unnatural junctures, the very observation of it would endanger the community, that law ought to be laid asleep for such a time, by the proper authority. Thus the very intention of our Habeas Corpus act, namely, the preservation of the liberties of the subject, absolutely requires that act to be now suspended, since the confinement of dangerous and suspected persons, who might strengthen this rebellion, and spread a civil war through all parts of this kingdom, secures to us our civil rights, and every thing that can be valuable to a free people.

As every government must in its nature be armed with such an authority, we may observe that those governments which have been the most famous for public spirit, and the most jealous of their liberty, have never failed to exert it upon proper occasions. There cannot be a greater instance of this, than in the old commonwealth of Rome, who flattered themselves with an opinion, that their government had in it a due temper of the regal, noble, and popular power represented by the consuls, the senators, and the tribunes. The regal

part was, however, in several points, notoriously defective, and particularly because the consuls had not a negative in the passing of a law, as the other two branches had. Nevertheless, in this government, when the republic was threatened with any great and imminent danger, they thought it for the common safety to appoint a temporary dictator, invested with the whole power of the three branches; who, when the danger was over, retired again into the community, and left the government in its natural situation. But what is more to our case, the consular power itself, though infinitely short of the regal power in Great Britain, was intrusted with the whole authority which the legislature has put into the hands of his Majesty. We have an eminent instance of this in the motto of my paper, which I shall translate for the benefit of the English reader, after having advertised him, that the power there given to the consul, was in the time of a conspiracy. 'The senate, therefore, made a decree, as usual, when they have matters before them of so horrid a nature, That the consuls should take care the commonwealth did not suffer any prejudice. By virtue of this very great power which the senate allows to the magistrate, according to the ancient customs of Rome, he may raise an army, wage war, make use of all kinds of methods to restrain the associates and citizens of Rome, and exercise the supreme authority both at home and abroad in matters civil and military; whereas otherwise the consul is not invested with any of these powers without the express command of the people.'

There now only remains to shew, that his Majesty is legally possessed of this power; and that the necessity of the present affairs requires he should be so. He is intrusted with it by the legislature of the nation; and in the very notion of a legislature is implied a power to change, repeal, and suspend, what laws are in being, as well as to make what new laws they shall think fit for the good of the people. This is so uncontroverted a maxim, that I believe never any body attempted to refute it. Our legislature have, however, had that just regard for their

fellow-subjects, as not to entertain a thought of abrogating this law, but only to hinder it from operating at a time when it would endanger the constitution. The king is empowered to act but for a few months by virtue of this suspension; and by that means differs from a king of France, or any other tyrannical prince, who in times of peace and tranquillity, and upon what occasion he pleases, sends any of his subjects out of the knowledge of their friends into such castles, dungeons, or imprisonments, as he thinks fit. Nor did the legislature do any thing in this that was unprecedented. The Habeas Corpus act was made but about five and thirty years ago, and since that time has been suspended four times before his present Majesty's accession to the throne: twice under the reign of King William and Queen Mary; once under the reign of King William; and once under the reign of Queen Anne.

The necessity of this law at this time arose from the prospect of an invasion, which has since broke out into an actual rebellion; and from informations of secret and dangerous practices among men of considerable figure, who could not have been prevented from doing mischief to their country but by such a suspension of this act of parliament.

I cannot, however, but observe, that notwithstanding the lawfulness and necessity of such a suspension, had not the rebellion broke out after the passing of this act of parliament, I do not know how those who had been the most instrumental in procuring it, could have escaped that popular odium, which their malicious and artful enemies have now in vain endeavoured to stir up against them. Had it been possible for the vigilance and endeavours of a ministry to have hindered even the attempts of an invasion, their very endeavours might have proved prejudicial to them. Their prudent and resolute precautions would have turned to their disadvantage, had they not been justified by those events, which they did all that was in their power to obviate. This naturally brings to mind the reflection of Tully in the like circumstances, 'That amidst the divisions of Rome, a man

was in an unhappy condition who had a share in the administration, nay even in the preservation of the commonwealth. *O conditionem miseram non modo administrandæ, verùm etiam conservandæ Reipublicæ!*'

Besides, every unprejudiced man will consider how mildly and equitably this power has been used. The persons confined have been treated with all possible humanity, and abridged of nothing but the liberty of hurting their country, and very probably of ruining both themselves and their families. And as to the numbers of those who are under this short restraint, it is very observable, that people do not seem so much surprised at the confinement of some, as at the liberty of many others. But we may from hence conclude, what every Englishman must observe with great pleasure, that his Majesty does not in this great point regulate himself by any private jealousies or suspicions, but by those evidences and informations he has received.

We have already found the good consequences of this suspension, in that it has hindered the rebellion from gathering the strength it would otherwise have gained; not to mention those numbers it has kept from engaging in so desperate an enterprise, with the many lives it has preserved, and the desolations it has prevented.

For these and many other reasons, the representatives of Great Britain in parliament could never have answered it to the people they represent, who have found such great benefits from the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and without it must have felt such fatal consequences, had they not, in a case of such great necessity, made use of this customary, legal, and reasonable method for securing his Majesty on the throne, and their country from misery or ruin.

No. 17. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

——Hic niger est: hunc tu, Romane, caveto.
HOR.

WE are told that in Turkey, when any man is the author of notorious falsehoods, it is usual to blacken the whole front of his house: nay, we have sometimes heard, that an ambassador whose 'business it is' (if I may quote his character in Sir Henry Wotton's words) 'to lie for the good of his country,' has sometimes had this mark set upon his house; when he has been detected in any piece of feigned intelligence, that has prejudiced the government, and misled the minds of the people. One could almost wish that the habitations of such of our countrymen as deal in forgeries detrimental to the public, were distinguished in the same manner; that their fellow-subjects might be cautioned not to be too easy in giving credit to them. Were such a method put in practice, this metropolis would be strangely checquered; some entire parishes would be in mourning, and several streets darkened from one end to the other.

But I have given my thoughts in two preceding papers, both on the inventors and the believers of these public falsehoods and calumnies, and shall here speak of that contempt with which they are and ought to be received by those in high stations, at whom they are levelled. Any person, indeed, who is zealous for promoting the interest of his country, must conquer all that tenderness and delicacy which may make him afraid of being ill spoken of; or his endeavours will often produce no less uneasiness to himself, than benefit to the public. Among a people who indulge themselves in the utmost freedoms of thought and speech, a man must either be insignificant, or able to bear an undeserved reproach. A true patriot may comfort himself under the attacks of falsehood and obloquy, from several motives and reflections.

In the first place he should consider, that the chief of his antagonists are generally acted by a spirit of envy; which would not rise against him, if it were not provoked by his desert. A statesman, who is possessed of real merit, should look upon his political censurers with the same neglect, that a good writer regards his critics; who are generally a race of men that are not able to discover the beauties of a work they examine, and deny that approbation to others which they never met with themselves. Patriots, therefore, should rather rejoice in the success of their honest designs, than be mortified by those who misrepresent them.

They should likewise consider, that not only envy, but vanity, has a share in the detraction of their adversaries. Such aspersions, therefore, do them honour at the same time that they are intended to lessen their reputation. They should reflect, That those who endeavour to stir up the multitude against them, do it to be thought considerable; and not a little applaud themselves in a talent that can raise clamours out of nothing, and throw a ferment among the people, by murmurs or complaints, which they know in their own hearts are altogether groundless. There is a pleasant instance of this nature recorded at length in the first book of the annals of Tacitus. When a great part of the Roman legions were in a disposition to mutiny, an impudent varlet, who was a private sentinel, being mounted upon the shoulders of his fellow-soldiers, and resolved to try the power of his eloquence, addressed himself to the army, in all the postures of an orator, after the following manner: 'You have given liberty to these miserable men,' said he, (pointing to some criminals whom they had rescued) 'but which of you can restore life to my brother? who can give me back my brother? he was murdered no longer ago than last night, by the hands of those ruffians, who are entertained by the general to butcher the poor soldiery. Tell me, Blæsus, (for that was the name of the general, who was then sitting on the tribunal) tell me, where hast thou cast his dead body? An enemy does not grudge the rites of burial. When I

have tired myself with kissing his cold corpse, and weeping over it, order me to be slain upon it. All I ask of my fellow-soldiers, since we both die in their cause, is, that they would lay me in the same grave with my brother.' The whole army was in an uproar at this moving speech, and resolved to do the speaker justice, when, upon inquiry, they found that he never had a brother in his life; and that he had stirred up the sedition only to shew his parts.

Public ministers would likewise do well to consider, that the principal authors of such reproaches as are cast upon them, are those who have a mind to get their places: and as for a censure arising from this motive, it is in their power to escape it when they please, and turn it upon their competitors. Malecontents of an inferior character are acted by the same principle; for so long as there are employments of all sizes, there will be murmurers of all degrees. I have heard of a country-gentleman, who made a very long and melancholy complaint to the late Duke of Buckingham, when he was in great power at court, of several public grievances. The duke, after having given him a very patient hearing, 'My dear friend (says he) this is but too true; but I have thought of an expedient which will set all things right, and that very soon.' His country friend asked him, what it was. 'You must know, (says the duke,) there's a place of five hundred pounds a year fallen this very morning, which I intend to put you in possession of.' The gentleman thanked his grace, went away satisfied, and thought the nation the happiest under heaven, during that whole ministry.

But farther, every man in a public station ought to consider, that when there are two different parties in a nation, they will see things in different lights. An action, however conducive to the good of their country, will be represented by the artful and appear to the ignorant as prejudicial to it. Since I have here, according to the usual liberty of essay-writers, rambled into several stories, I shall fetch one to my present purpose out of the Persian history. We there read of a virtuous young

emperor, who was very much afflicted to find his actions misconstrued and defamed by a party among his subjects that favoured another interest. As he was one day sitting among the ministers of his Divan, and amusing himself after the eastern manner, with the solution of difficult problems and enigmas, he proposed to them in his turn the following one. 'What is the tree that bears three hundred and sixty five leaves, which are all black on the one side, and white on the other?' His Grand Vizier immediately replied, it was the year, which consisted of three hundred and sixty five days and nights: 'But sir, (says he,) permit me at the same time to take notice, that these leaves represent your actions, which carry different faces to your friends and enemies, and will always appear black to those who are resolved only to look upon the wrong side of them.'

A virtuous man, therefore, who lays out his endeavours for the good of his country, should never be troubled at the reports which are made of him, so long as he is conscious of his own integrity. He should rather be pleased to find people descanting upon his actions, because when they are thoroughly canvassed and examined, they are sure in the end to turn to his honour and advantage. The reasonable and unprejudiced part of mankind will be of his side, and rejoice to see their common interest lodged in such honest hands. A strict examination of a great man's character, is like the trial of a suspected chastity, which was made among the Jews by the waters of jealousy. Moses assures us, that the criminal burst upon the drinking of them; but if she was accused wrongfully, the Rabbins tell us, they heightened her charms, and made her much more amiable than before: so that they destroyed the guilty, but beautified the innocent.

No. 18. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

——Inopem me copia fecit.

OVID.

EVERY Englishman will be a good subject to King George, in proportion as he is a good Englishman, and a lover of the constitution of his country. In order to awaken in my readers the love of this their constitution, it may be necessary to set forth its superior excellency to that form of government, which many wicked and ignorant men have of late years endeavoured to introduce among us. I shall not, therefore, think it improper, to take notice from time to time of any particular act of power, exerted by those among whom the pretender to his Majesty's crown has been educated; which would prove fatal to this nation, should it be conquered and governed by a person, who, in all probability, would put in practice the politics in which he has been so long instructed.

There has been nothing more observable in the reign of his present Gallic Majesty, than the method he has taken for supplying his exchequer with a necessary sum of money. The ways and means for raising it has been an edict, or a command in writing signed by himself, to increase the value of louis d'ors from fourteen to sixteen livres, by virtue of a new stamp which shall be struck upon them. As this method will bring all the gold of the kingdom into his hands, it is provided by the same edict that they shall be paid out again to the people at twenty livres each; so that four livres in the score by this means accrue to his Majesty out of all the money in the kingdom of France.

This method of raising money is consistent with that form of government, and with the repeated practice of their late *Grand Monarque*; so that I shall not here consider the many evil consequences which it must have upon their trade, their exchange, and public credit: I shall only take notice of the whimsical circumstances a

people must lie under, who can be thus made poor or rich by an edict, which can throw an alloy into a louis d'or, and debase it into half its former value, or, if his Majesty pleases, raise the price of it, not by the accession of metal, but of a mark. By the present edict, many a man in France will swell into a plumb, who fell several thousand pounds short of it the day before its publication. This conveys a kind of fairy treasure into their chests, even whilst they are under lock and key; and is a secret of multiplication without addition. It is natural enough, however, for the vanity of the French nation to grow insolent upon this imaginary wealth, not considering that their neighbours think them no more rich by virtue of an edict to make fourteen twenty, than they would think them more formidable should there be another edict to make every man in the kingdom seven foot high.

It was usual for his late most Christian Majesty to sink the value of their louis d'ors about the time he was to receive the taxes of his good people, and to raise them when he had got them safe into his coffers. And there is no question but the present government in that kingdom will so far observe this kind of conduct, as to reduce the twenty livres to their old number of fourteen, when they have paid them out of their hands; which will immediately sink the present timpany of wealth, and re-establish the natural poverty of the Gallic nation.

One cannot but pity the melancholy condition of a miser in this country, who is perpetually telling his livres, without being able to know how rich he is. He is as ridiculously puzzled and perplexed as a man that counts the stones on Salisbury plain, which can never be settled to any certain number, but are more or fewer every time he reckons them.

I have heard of a young French lady, a subject of Louis the fourteenth, who was contracted to a marquis upon the foot of a five thousand pound fortune, which she had by her in specie; but one of these unlucky edicts coming out a week before the intended marriage, she lost a thousand pound, and her bridegroom into the bargain.

The uncertainty of riches is a subject much discoursed of in all countries, but may be insisted on more emphatically in France than any other. A man is here under such a kind of situation as one who is managed by a juggler. He fancies he has so many pieces of money in his hand: but let him grasp them never so carefully, upon a word or two of the artist they increase or dwindle to what number the doctor is pleased to name.

This method of lowering or advancing money, we, who have the happiness to be in another form of government, should look upon as unwarrantable kind of clipping and coining. However, as it is an expedient that is often practised, and may be justified in that constitution which has been so thoroughly studied by the pretender to his Majesty's crown, I do not see what should have hindered him from making use of so expeditious a method for raising a supply, if he had succeeded in his late attempt to dethrone his Majesty, and subvert our constitution. I shall leave it to the consideration of the reader, if in such a case the following edict, or something very like it, might not have been expected.

"WHEREAS these our kingdoms have long groaned under an expensive and consuming land-war, which has very much exhausted the treasure of the nation, we, being willing to increase the wealth of our people, and not thinking it advisable for this purpose to make use of the tedious methods of merchandise and commerce, which have been always promoted by a faction among the worst of our subjects, and were so wisely discountenanced by the best of them in the late reign, do hereby enact by our sole will and pleasure, that every shilling in Great Britain shall pass in all payments for the sum of fourteen-pence, till the first of September next, and that every other piece of money shall rise and pass in current payment in the same proportion. The advantage which will accrue to these nations by this our royal donative, will visibly appear to all men of sound principles, who are so justly famous for their antipathy to strangers, and would not see the landed interest of their

country weakened by the importations of foreign gold and silver. But since by reason of the great debts which we have contracted abroad, during our fifteen years reign, as well as of our present exigencies, it will be necessary to fill our exchequer by the most prudent and expeditious methods, we do also hereby order every one of our subjects to bring in these his fourteen-penny pieces, and all the other current cash of this kingdom, by what new titles soever dignified or distinguished, to the master of our mint, who, after having set a mark upon them, shall deliver out to them, on or after the first of September aforesaid, their respective sums, taking only four pence for ourself for such his mark on every fourteen penny piece, which from henceforth shall pass in payment for eighteen-pence, and so in proportion for the rest. By this method, the money of this nation will be more by one third than it is at present; and we shall content ourselves with not quite one fifth part of the current cash of our loving subjects; which will but barely suffice to clear the interest of those sums in which we stand indebted to our most dear brother and ancient ally. We are glad of this opportunity of shewing such an instance of our goodness to our subjects, by this our royal edict, which shall be read in every parish church of Great Britain, immediately after the celebration of high mass. For such is our pleasure."

No. 19. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ; etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.
SALL.

IT has been usual these many years for writers, who have approved the scheme of government which has taken place, to explain to the people the reasonableness of those principles which have prevailed, and to justify the conduct of those who act in conformity to such

principles. It therefore happens well for the party which is undermost, when a work of this nature falls into the hands of those who content themselves to attack their principles, without exposing their persons, or singling out any particular objects for satire and ridicule. This manner of proceeding is no inconsiderable piece of merit in writers, who are often more influenced by a desire of fame, than a regard to the public good; and who, by this means, lose many fair opportunities of shewing their own wit, or of gratifying the ill-nature of their readers.

When a man thinks a party engaged in such measures as tend to the ruin of his country, it is certainly a very laudable and virtuous action in him to make war after this manner upon the whole body. But as several casuists are of opinion, that in a battle you should discharge upon the gross of the enemy, without levelling your piece at any particular person; so in this kind of combat also, I cannot think it fair to aim at any one man, and make his character the mark of your hostilities. There is now to be seen in the castle of Milan, a cannon bullet, inscribed, 'This to the Mareschal de Crequi,' which was the very ball that shot him. An author who points his satire at a great man is to be looked upon in the same view with the engineer who signalized himself by this ungenerous practice.

But as the spirit of the whigs and tories shews itself, upon every occasion, to be very widely different from one another; so is it particularly visible in the writings of this kind, which have been published by each party. The latter may, indeed, assign one reason to justify themselves in this practice; that, having nothing of any manner of weight to offer against the principles of their antagonists, if they speak at all, it must be against their persons. When they cannot refute an adversary, the shortest way is to libel him; and to endeavour at the making his person odious, when they cannot represent his notions as absurd.

The Examiner was a paper, in the last reign, which was the favourite work of the party. It was ushered

ushered into the world by a letter from a secretary of state, setting forth the great genius of the author, the usefulness of his design, and the mighty consequences that were to be expected from it. It is said to have been written by those among them whom they looked upon as their most celebrated wits and politicians, and was dispersed into all quarters of the nation with great industry and expence. Who would not have expected, that at least the rules of decency and candour would be observed in such a performance? but, instead of this, you saw all the great men, who had done eminent services to their country but a few years before, draughted out one by one, and baited in their turns. No sanctity of character, or privilege of sex, exempted persons from this barbarous usage. Several of our prelates were the standing marks of public raillery, and many ladies of the first quality branded by name for matters of fact, which as they were false, were not heeded, and if they had been true, were innocent. The dead themselves were not spared. And here I cannot forbear taking notice of a kind of wit which has lately grown into fashion among the versifiers, epigrammatists, and other authors, who think it sufficient to distinguish themselves by their zeal for what they call the high church, while they sport with the most tremendous parts of revealed religion. Every one has seen epigrams upon the deceased fathers of our church, where the whole thought has turned upon hell-fire. Patriots, who ought to be remembered with honour by their posterity, have been introduced as speakers in a state of torments. There is something dreadful even in repeating these execrable pieces of wit, which no man who really believes another life, can peruse without fear and trembling. It is astonishing to see readers who call themselves Christians, applauding such diabolical mirth, and seeming to rejoice in the doom which is pronounced against their enemies, by such abandoned scribblers. A wit of this kind, may, with great truth, be compared to the fool in the Proverbs, 'who plays with arrows, fire-brands, and death, and says, Am I not in sport!'

I must, in justice to the more sober and considerate of that party, confess, that many of them were highly scandalized at that personal slander and reflection which was flung out so freely by the libellers of the last reign, as well as by those profane liberties which have been since continued. And as for those who are either the authors or admirers of such compositions, I would have them consider with themselves, whether the name of a good church-man can atone for the want of that charity which is the most essential part of Christianity. They would likewise do well to reflect, how, by these methods, the poison has run freely into the minds of the weak and ignorant: heightened their rage against many of their fellow-subjects; and almost divested them of the common sentiments of humanity.

In the former part of this paper, I have hinted that the design of it is to oppose the principles of those who are enemies to the present government, and the main body of that party who espouse those principles. But even in such general attacks there are certain measures to be kept, which may have a tendency rather to gain, than to irritate those who differ with you in their sentiments. The Examiner would not allow such as were of a contrary opinion to him, to be either Christians or fellow-subjects. With him they were all atheists, deists, or apostates, and a separate commonwealth among themselves, that ought either to be extirpated, or, when he was in a better humour, only to be banished out of their native country. They were often put in mind of some approaching execution, and therefore all of them advised to prepare themselves for it, as men who had then nothing to take care of, but how to die decently. In short, the Examiner seemed to make no distinction between conquest and destruction.

The conduct of this work has hitherto been regulated by different views, and shall continue to be so; unless the party it has to deal with, draw upon themselves another kind of treatment. For if they shall persist in pointing their batteries against particular persons, there are no laws of war, that forbid the making of reprisals.

In the mean time, this undertaking shall be managed with that generous spirit which was so remarkable among the Romans, who did not subdue a country in order to put the inhabitants to fire and sword, but to incorporate them into their own community, and make them happy in the same government with themselves.

No. 20. MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum———— HOR.

IT is very unlucky for those who make it their business to raise popular murmurs and discontents against his Majesty's government, that they find so very few and so very improper occasions for them. To shew how hard they are set in this particular, there are several, who for want of other materials, are forced to represent the bill which has passed this session, for laying an additional tax of two shillings in the pound upon land, as a kind of grievance upon the subject. If this be a matter of complaint, it ought in justice to fall upon those who have made it necessary. Had there been no rebellion, there would have been no increase of the land-tax: so that in proportion as a man declares his aversion to the one, he ought to testify his abhorrence of the other. But it is very remarkable that those, who would persuade the people that they are aggrieved by this additional burden, are the very persons who endeavour, in their ordinary conversation, to extenuate the heinousness of the rebellion, and who express the greatest tenderness for the persons of the rebels. They shew a particular indulgence for that unnatural insurrection which has drawn this load upon us, and are angry at the means which were necessary for suppressing it. There needs no clearer proof of the spirit and intention with which they act:

I shall, therefore, advise my fellow-freeholders to consider the character of any person who would possess them with the notion of a hardship that is put upon the country by this tax. If he be one of known affection to the present establishment, they may imagine there is some reason for complaint. But if, on the contrary, he be one who has shewn himself indifferent as to the success of the present rebellion, or is suspected as a private abettor of it, they may take it for granted, his complaint against the land-tax is either the rage of a disappointed man, or the artifice of one who would alienate their affections from the present government.

The expence which will arise to the nation from this rebellion, is already computed at near a million. And it is a melancholy consideration for the freeholders of Great Britain, that the treason of their fellow-subjects should bring upon them as great a charge as the war with France. At the same time every reasonable man among them will pay a tax with at least as great chearfulness for stifling a civil war in its birth, as for carrying on a war in a foreign country. Had not our first supplies been effectual for the crushing of our domestic enemies, we should immediately have beheld the whole kingdom a scene of slaughter and desolation: whereas, if we had failed in our first attempts upon a distant nation, we might have repaired the losses of one campaign by the advantages of another, and after several victories gained over us, might still have kept the enemy from our gates.

As it was thus absolutely necessary to raise a sum that might enable the government to put a speedy stop to the rebellion, so could there be no method thought of for raising such a sum more proper, than this of laying an additional tax of two shillings in the pound upon land.

In the first place: this tax has already been so often tried, that we know the exact produce of it, which in any new project is always very doubtful and uncertain. As we are thus acquainted with the produce of this tax, we find it is adequate to the services for which it is de-

signed, and that the additional tax is proportioned to the supernumerary expence, which falls upon the kingdom this year by the unnatural rebellion, as it has been above stated.

In the next place: no other tax could have been thought of, upon which so much money would have been immediately advanced as was necessary in so critical a juncture for pushing our successes against the rebels, and preventing the attempts of their friends and confederates both at home and abroad. No body cares to make loans upon a new and untried project; whereas men never fail to bring in their money upon a land-tax, when the premium or interest allowed them, is suited to the hazard they run by such loans to the government. And here one cannot but bewail the misfortune of our country, when we consider, that the house of commons had last year reduced this interest to four per cent. by which means there was a considerable saving to the nation; but that this year they have been forced to give six per cent. as well knowing the fatal consequences that might have ensued, had there not been an interest allowed, which would certainly encourage the lender to venture, in such a time of danger, what was indispensably necessary for the exigences of the public.

Besides; this is a method for raising a sum of money, that, with the ordinary taxes, will in all probability defray the whole expence of the year: so that there is no burden laid upon our posterity, who have been sufficiently loaded by other means of raising money; nor any deficiency to be hereafter made up by ourselves; which has been our case in so many other subsidies.

To this we may add; that we have no example of any other tax, which in its nature would so particularly affect the enemies to his Majesty's government. Multitudes of Papists and Nonjurors will be obliged to furnish a double proportion out of their revenues towards the clearing of that expence, which by their open and secret practices they have been instrumental in bringing upon [illegible] subjects.

I shall only mention one consideration more; that no other tax is so likely to cease as this is, when there is no farther occasion for it. This tax is established by a house of commons, which, by virtue of an act of parliament passed a few years ago, must consist for the most part of landed men; so that a great share of the weight of it must necessarily fall upon the members of their own body. As this is an instance of their public spirit, so we may be sure they would not have exerted it, had there not been an absolute necessity: nor can we doubt, that for the same reasons, when this necessity ceases, they will take the first opportunity of easing themselves in this particular, as well as those whom they represent. It is a celebrated notion of a patriot, who signally distinguished himself for the liberties of his country, that a house of commons should never grant such subsidies as are easy to be raised, and give no pain to the people, lest the nation should acquiesce under a burden they did not feel, and see it perpetuated without repining. Whether this notion might not be too refined, I shall not determine; but by what has been already said, I think we may promise ourselves, that this additional tax of two shillings in the pound, will not be continued another year, because we may hope the rebellion will be entirely ended in this.

And here, I believe, it must be obvious to every one's reflection, that the rebellion might not have concluded so soon, had not this method been made use of for that end. A foreign potentate trembles at the thought of entering into a war with so wealthy an enemy as the British nation, when he finds the whole landed interest of the kingdom engaged to oppose him with their united force; and at all times ready to employ against him such a part of their revenues, as shall be sufficient to baffle his designs upon their country: especially when none can imagine, that he expects an encouragement from those, whose fortunes are either lodged in the funds, or employed in trade.

The wisdom, therefore, of the present house of com-

mons has by this tax, not only enabled the king to subdue those of his own subjects, who have been actually in arms against him, but to divert any of his neighbours from the hopes of lending them a competent assistance.

No. 21. FRIDAY, MARCH 2.

Qualis in Eurotæ ripis, aut per juga Cynthi,
Exercet Diana choros; quam mille secutæ
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades: illa pharetram
Fert humero, gradiensque Deas supereminet omnes.

VIRG.

IT is not easy for any one, who saw the magnificence of yesterday in the court of Great Britain,[a] to turn his thoughts for some time after on any other subject. It was a solemnity every way suited to the birth-day of a princess, who is the delight of our nation, and the glory of her sex. Homer tells us, that when the daughter of Jupiter presented herself among a crowd of goddesses, she was distinguished from the rest by her graceful stature, and known by her superior beauty, notwithstanding they were all beautiful. Such was the appearance of the Princess of Wales among our British ladies; or (to use a more solemn phrase) of 'the King's daughter among her honourable women.' Her Royal Highness, in the midst of such a circle, raises in the beholder the idea of a fine picture, where (notwithstanding the diversity of pleasing objects that fill up the canvas) the principal figure immediately takes the eye, and fixes the attention.

When this excellent princess was yet in her father's court, she was so celebrated for the beauty of her person, and the accomplishments of her mind, that there was no prince in the empire, who had room for such an

[a] The author rises with his subject. This panegyric is extremely well written.

alliance, that was not ambitious of gaining her into his family, either as a daughter, or as a consort. He, who is now the chief of the crowned heads in Europe, and was then King of Spain, and heir to all the dominions of the house of Austria, sought her in marriage. Could her mind have been captivated with the glories of this world, she had them all laid before her; but she generously declined them, because she saw the acceptance of them was inconsistent with what she esteems more than all the glories of this world, the enjoyment of her religion. Providence, however, kept in store a reward for such an exalted virtue; and, by the secret methods of its wisdom, opened a way for her to become the greatest of her sex, among those, who profess that faith to which she adhered with so much christian magnanimity.

This her illustrious conduct might, in the eye of the world, have lost its merit, had so accomplished a prince as his Royal Highness declared his passion for the same alliance at that time: it would then have been no wonder that all other proposals had been rejected. But it was the fame of this heroic constancy that determined his Royal Highness to desire in marriage a princess whose personal charms, which had before been so universally admired, were now become the least part of her character. We, of the British nation, have reason to rejoice, that such a proposal was made and accepted; and that her Royal Highness, with regard to these two successive treaties of marriage, shewed as much prudence in her compliance with the one, as piety in her refusal of the other.

The princess was no sooner arrived at Hanover, than she improved the lustre of that court, which was before reckoned among the politest in Europe; and increased the satisfaction of that people, who were before looked upon as the happiest in the empire. She immediately became the darling of the Princess Sophia, who was acknowledged in all the courts of Europe the most accomplished woman of the age in which she lived, and who was not a little pleased with the conversation of

one in whom she saw so lively an image of her own youth.

But I shall insist no longer on that reputation which her Royal Highness has acquired in other countries. We daily discover those admirable qualities for which she is so justly famed, and rejoice to see them exerted in our own country, where we ourselves are made happy by their influence. We are the more pleased to behold the throne of these kingdoms surrounded by a numerous and beautiful progeny, when we consider the virtues of those from whom they descend. Not only the features, but the mind of the parent, is often copied out in the offspring. But the princess we are speaking of, takes the surest method of making her royal issue like herself, by instilling early into their minds all the principles of religion, virtue, and honour, and seasoning their tender years with all that knowledge which they are capable of receiving. What may we not hope from such an uncommon care in the education of the children of Great Britain, who are directed by such precepts, and will be formed by such an example!

The conjugal virtues are so remarkable in her Royal Highness, as to deserve those just and generous returns of love and tenderness, for which the prince, her husband, is so universally celebrated.

But there is no part of her Royal Highness's character which we observe with greater pleasure, than that behaviour by which she has so much endeared herself to his Majesty; though, indeed, we have no reason to be surprised at this mutual intercourse of duty and affection, when we consider so wise and virtuous a princess possessing, in the same sacred person, the kindest of fathers, and the best of kings. And here it is natural for us to congratulate our own good fortune, who see our sovereign blessed with a numerous issue, among whom are heirs male in two direct descents, which has not happened in the reign of any English king since the time of his Majesty's great ancestor Edward the third, and is a felicity not enjoyed by the subjects of any other of the kings of Europe who are his contem-

poraries. We are like men entertained with the view of a spacious landscape, where the eye passes over one pleasing prospect into another, till the sight is lost by degrees in a succession of delightful objects, and leaves us in the persuasion that there remain still more behind.

But if we regard her Royal Highness in that light which diffuses the greatest glory round a human character, we shall find the christian no less conspicuous than the princess. She is as eminent for a sincere piety in the practice of religion, as for an inviolable adherence to its principles. She is constant in her attendance on the daily offices of our church, and by her serious and devout comportment on these solemn occasions, gives an example that is very often too much wanted in courts.

Her religion is equally free from the weakness of superstition, and the sourness of enthusiasm. It is not of that uncomfortable melancholy nature which disappoints its own end, by appearing unamiable to those whom it would gain to its interests. It discovers itself in the genuine effects of Christianity, in affability, compassion, benevolence, evenness of mind, and all the offices of an active and universal charity.

As a chearful temper is the necessary result of these virtues, so it shines out in all the parts of her conversation, and dissipates those apprehensions which naturally hang on the timorous or the modest, when they are admitted to the honour of her presence. There is none that does not listen with pleasure to a person in so high a station, who condescends to make herself thus agreeable, by mirth without levity, and wit without ill-nature.

Her Royal Highness is, indeed, possessed of all those talents which make conversation either delightful or improving. As she has a fine taste of the elegant arts, and is skilled in several modern languages, her discourse is not confined to the ordinary subjects or forms of conversation, but can adapt itself with an uncommon grace to every occasion, and entertain the politest persons of different nations. I need not mention, what is observed

by every one, that agreeable turn which appears in her sentiments upon the most ordinary affairs of life, and which is so suitable to the delicacy of her sex, the politeness of her education, and the splendor of her quality.

It would be vain to think of drawing into the compass of this paper, the many eminent virtues which adorn the character of this great princess; but as it is one chief end of this undertaking to make the people sensible of the blessings which they enjoy under his Majesty's reign, I could not but lay hold on this opportunity to speak of that which ought, in justice, to be reckoned among the greatest of them.

No. 22.[a] MONDAY, MARCH 5.

Studiis rudis, sermone barbarus, impetu strenuus, manu promptus, cogitatione celer.

VELL. PATERC.

FOR the honour of his Majesty, and the safety of his government, we cannot but observe, that those who have appeared the greatest enemies to both, are of that rank of men, who are commonly distinguished by the title of Fox-hunters. As several of these have had no part of their education in cities, camps, or courts, it is

[a] This freeholder, together with the 44th and 47th, on a tory fox-hunter, have all the ease and gaiety of the best spectators on Sir Roger de Coverley. And, in general, we may observe, that the gentle graces of Mr. Addison never forsake him, in a paper of humour; the bent of his genius lying so strongly that way.

If he any where writes beneath himself in the Freeholder, it is in those graver parts, which seem scarce susceptible of embellishment, (as those on the habeas-corpus, and the land-tax), or which require more time and recollection in a writer who would do justice to his subject (as those on trade, and government) than he had to bestow upon them. Not but another reason might be, that he purposely restrained his wit, on many occasions, the better to adapt himself to the apprehension of his plainer readers, whom he was chiefly concerned to manage, and whose idiot prejudices he wanted to remove.

doubtful whether they are of greater ornament or use to the nation in which they live. It would be an everlasting reproach to politics, should such men be able to overturn an establishment which has been formed by the wisest laws, and is supported by the ablest heads. The wrong notions and prejudices which cleave to many of these country gentlemen, who have always lived out of the way of being better informed, are not easy to be conceived by a person who has never conversed with them.

That I may give my readers an image of these rural statesmen, I shall, without farther preface, set down an account of a discourse I chanced to have with one of them some time ago. I was travelling towards one of the remote parts of England, when about three o'clock in the afternoon, seeing a country gentleman trotting before me with a spaniel by his horse's side, I made up to him. Our conversation opened, as usual, upon the weather; in which we were very unanimous; having both agreed that it was too dry for the season of the year. My fellow-traveller, upon this, observed to me, that there had been no good weather since the revolution. I was a little startled at so extraordinary a remark, but would not interrupt him till he proceeded to tell me of the fine weather they used to have in King Charles the second's reign. I only answered that I did not see how the badness of the weather could be the king's fault; and, without waiting for his reply, asked him whose house it was we saw upon a rising ground at a little distance from us. He told me it belonged to an old fanatical cur, Mr. Such-a-one, 'You must have heard of him,' says he, 'he's one of the Rump.' I knew the gentleman's character upon hearing his name, but assured him, that to my knowledge he was a good churchman: 'Ay!' says he, with a kind of surprise, 'We were told in the country, that he spoke twice, in the Queen's time, against taking off the duties upon French claret.' This naturally led us in the proceedings of late parliaments, upon which occasion he affirmed roundly, that there had not been one good law passed

since King William's accession to the throne, except the act for preserving the game. I had a mind to see him out, and therefore did not care for contradicting him. 'Is it not hard,' says he, 'that honest gentlemen should be taken into custody of messengers to prevent them from acting according to their consciences? But,' says he, 'what can we expect when a parcel of factious sons of whores——' He was going on in great passion, but chanced to miss his dog, who was amusing himself about a bush, that grew at some distance behind us. We stood still till he had whistled him up; when he fell into a long panegyric upon his spaniel, who seemed, indeed, excellent in his kind: but I found the most remarkable adventure of his life was, that he had once like to have worried a dissenting-teacher. The master could hardly sit on his horse for laughing all the while he was giving me the particulars of this story, which I found had mightily endeared his dog to him, and as he himself told me, had made him a great favourite among all the honest gentlemen of the country. We were at length diverted from this piece of mirth by a post-boy, who winding his horn at us, my companion gave him two or three curses, and left the way clear for him. 'I fancy,' said I, 'that post brings news from Scotland. I shall long to see the next Gazette.' 'Sir,' says he, 'I make it a rule never to believe any of your printed news. We never see, sir, how things go, except now and then in Dyer's Letter, and I read that more for the style than the news. The man has a clever pen, it must be owned. But is it not strange that we should be making war upon Church of England men, with Dutch and Swiss soldiers, men of antimonarchical principles? these foreigners will never be loved in England, sir; they have not that wit and good-breeding that we have.' I must confess I did not expect to hear my new acquaintance value himself upon these qualifications, but finding him such a critic upon foreigners, I asked him if he had ever travelled; he told me, he did not know what travelling was good for, but to teach a man to ride the great horse, to jabber

French, and to talk against passive obedience: to which he added, that he scarce ever knew a traveller in his life who had not forsook his principles, and lost his hunting-seat. 'For my part,' says he, 'I and my father before me have always been for passive-obedience, and shall be always for opposing a prince who makes use of ministers that are of another opinion. But where do you intend to inn to-night? (for we were now come in sight of the next town) I can help you to a very good landlord if you will go along with me. He is a lusty jolly fellow, that lives well, at least three yards in the girt, and the best Church of England man upon the road.' I had a curiosity to see this high-church innkeeper, as well as to enjoy more of the conversation of my fellow-traveller, and therefore readily consented to set our horses together for that night. As we rode side by side through the town, I was let into the characters of all the principal inhabitants whom we met in our way. One was a dog, another a whelp, another a cur, and another the son of a bitch, under which several denominations were comprehended all that voted on the whig side, in the last election of burgesses. As for those of his own party, he distinguished them by a nod of his head, and asking them how they did by their christian names. Upon our arrival at the inn, my companion fetched out the jolly landlord, who knew him by his whistle. Many endearments and private whispers passed between them; though it was easy to see, by the landlord's scratching his head, that things did not go to their wishes. The landlord had swelled his body to a prodigious size, and worked up his complection to a standing crimson by his zeal for the prosperity of the church, which he expressed every hour of the day, as his customers dropt in, by repeated bumpers. He had not time to go to church himself, but, as my friend told me in my ear, had headed a mob at the pulling down of two or three meeting-houses. While supper was preparing, he enlarged upon the happiness of the neighbouring shire; 'For,' says he, 'there is scarce a Presbyterian in the whole county, except the bishop.' In

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short, I found by his discourse that he had learned a great deal of politics, but not one word of religion, from the parson of his parish; and, indeed, that he had scarce any other notion of religion, but that it consisted in hating Presbyterians. I had a remarkable instance of his notions in this particular. Upon seeing a poor decrepid old woman pass under the window where we sat, he desired me to take notice of her; and afterwards informed me, that she was generally reputed a witch by the country people, but that, for his part, he was apt to believe she was a Presbyterian.

Supper was no sooner served in, than he took occasion, from a shoulder of mutton that lay before us, to cry up the plenty of England, which would be the happiest country in the world, provided we would live within ourselves. Upon which, he expatiated on the inconveniencies of trade, that carried from us the commodities of our country, and made a parcel of upstarts as rich as men of the most ancient families of England. He then declared frankly, that he had always been against all treaties and alliances with foreigners; 'Our wooden walls,' says he, 'are our security, and we may bid defiance to the whole world, especially if they should attack us when the militia is out.' I ventured to reply, that I had as great an opinion of the English fleet as he had; but I could not see how they could be paid, and manned, and fitted out, unless we encouraged trade and navigation. He replied, with some vehemence, that he would undertake to prove, trade would be the ruin of the English nation. I would fain have put him upon it; but he contented himself with affirming it more eagerly, to which he added two or three curses upon the London merchants, not forgetting the directors of the bank. After supper he asked me if I was an admirer of punch: and immediately called for a sneaker. I took this occasion to insinuate the advantages of trade, by observing to him, that water was the only native of England that could be made use of on this occasion: but that the lemons, the brandy, the sugar, and the nutmeg, were all foreigners. This put

him into some confusion; but the landlord, who overheard me, brought him off, by affirming, that for constant use, there was no liquor like a cup of English water, provided it had malt enough in it. My 'squire laughed heartily at the conceit, and made the landlord sit down with us. We sat pretty late over our punch; and, amidst a great deal of improving discourse, drank the healths of several persons in the country, whom I had never heard of, that, they both assured me, were the ablest statesmen in the nation: and of some Londoners, whom they extolled to the skies for their wit, and who, I knew, passed in town for silly fellows. It being now midnight, and my friend perceiving by his almanac that the moon was up, he called for his horses, and took a sudden resolution to go to his house, which was at three miles distance from the town, after having bethought himself that he never slept well out of his own bed. He shook me very heartily by the hand at parting, and discovered a great air of satisfaction in his looks, that he had met with an opportunity of shewing his parts, and left me a much wiser man than he found me.

No. 23. FRIDAY, MARCH 9.

Illis ira modum supra est, et sæpe venenum
Morsibus inspirant.——— VIRG.

IN the wars of Europe which were waged among our forefathers, it was usual for the enemy, when there was a king in the field, to demand by a trumpet in what part of the camp he resided, that they might avoid firing upon the royal pavilion. Our party-contests in England were heretofore managed with the same kind of decency and good-breeding. The person of the prince was always looked upon as sacred; and whatever severe usage his friends or ministers met with, none

presumed to direct their hostilities at their sovereign. The enemies of our present settlement are of such a coarse kind of make, and so equally void of loyalty and good manners, that they are grown scurrilous upon the royal family, and treat the most exalted characters with the most opprobrious language.

This petulance in conversation is particularly observed to prevail among some of that sex where it appears the most unbecoming and the most unnatural. Many of these act with the greater licentiousness, because they know they can act with the greater impunity. This consideration, indeed, engages the most generous and well-bred even of our she malecontents, to make no ill use of the indulgence of our law-givers; and to discover in their debates at least the delicacy of the woman, if not the duty of the subject. But it is generally remarked, that every one of them who is a shrew in domestic life, is now become a scold in politics. And as for those of the party, who are of a superior rank and unblemished virtue, it must be a melancholy reflection for them to consider that all the common women of the town are of their side; for which reason they ought to preserve a more than ordinary modesty in their satirical excursions, that their characters may not be liable to suspicion.

If there is not some method found out for allaying these heats and animosities among the fair sex, one does not know to what outrages they may proceed. I remember a hero in Scarron, who finding himself opposed by a mixed multitude of both sexes with a great deal of virulent language, after having brought them to a submission, gave order (to keep them from doing farther mischief) that the men should be disarmed of their clubs, and that the women should have their nails pared. We are not yet reduced to the necessity of applying such violent remedies; but as we daily receive accounts of ladies battling it on both sides, and that those who appear against the constitution, make war upon their antagonists by many unfair practices and unwarrantable methods, I think it is very conve-

nient there should be a cartel settled between them. If they have not yet agreed upon any thing of this nature among themselves, I would propose to them the following plan, in which I have sketched out several rules suited to the politest sex in one of the most civilized nations.

THAT in every political rencounter between woman and woman, no weapon shall be made use of but the tongue.

That in the course of the engagement, if either of the combatants, finding herself hard pressed by her adversary, shall proceed to personal reflections or discovery of secrets, they shall be parted by the standers by.

That when both sides are drawn up in a full assembly, it shall not be lawful for above five of them to talk at the same time.

That if any shall detract from a lady's character, (unless she be absent) the said detractress shall be forthwith ordered to the lowest place of the room.

That none presume to speak disrespectfully of his Majesty, or any of the royal family, on pain of three hours silence.

That none be permitted to talk spightfully of the court, unless they can produce vouchers that they have been there.

That the making use of news which goes about in whisper, unless the author be produced, or the fact well attested, shall be deemed fighting with white powder, and contrary to the laws of war.

That any one who produces libels or lampoons, shall be regarded in the same manner, as one who shoots with poisoned bullets.

That when a lady is thoroughly convinced of the falsehood of any story she has related, she shall give her parole not to tell it for a certain truth that winter.

That when any matter of doubt arises, which cannot otherwise be decided, appeal shall be made to a toast, if there be any such in the company.

That no coquette, notwithstanding she can do it

with a good air, shall be allowed to sigh for the danger of the church, or to shiver at the apprehensions of fanaticism.

That when a woman has talked an hour and a half, it shall be lawful to call her down to order.

As this civil discord among the sisterhood of Great Britain is likely to engage them in a long and lingering war, consisting altogether of drawn battles, it is the more necessary that there should be a cartel settled among them. Besides, as our English ladies are at present the greatest stateswomen in Europe, they will be in danger of making themselves the most unamiable part of their sex, if they continue to give a loose to intemperate language, and to a low kind of ribaldry, which is not used among the women of fashion in any other country.

Discretion and good-nature have been always looked upon as the distinguishing ornaments of female conversation. The woman, 'whose price is above rubies,' has no particular in the character given of her by the wise man, more endearing, than that 'she openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness.' Besides, every fierce she-zealot should consider, that however any of the other sex may seem to applaud her as a partizan, there is none of them who would not be afraid of associating himself with her in any of the more private relations of life.

I shall only add, that there is no talent so pernicious as eloquence, to those who have it not under command: For which reason, women who are so liberally gifted by nature in this particular, ought to study, with the greatest application, the rules of female oratory, delivered in that excellent treatise, entitled 'the Government of the Tongue.' Had that author foreseen the political ferment which is now raised among the sex, he would probably have made his book larger by some chapters than it is at present: but what is wanting in that work, may, I hope, in some measure, be supplied by the above-written cartel.

No. 24. MONDAY, MARCH 12.

Bellum importunum, cives, cum gente deorum,
Invictisque viris geritis———

VIRG.

A PHYSICIAN makes use of various methods for the recovery of sick persons; and though some of them are painful, and all of them disagreeable, his patients are never angry at him, because they know he has nothing in view besides the restoring of them to a good state of health. I am forced to treat the disaffected part of his Majesty's subjects in the same manner, and may, therefore, reasonably expect the same returns of good-will. I propose nothing to myself but their happiness as the end of all my endeavours; and am forced to adapt different remedies to those different constitutions, which are to be found in such a distempered multitude. Some of them can see the unreasonable, and some of them the ridiculous side of wrong principles, and, according to the different frame of their minds, reject an opinion as it carries in it either the appearance of wickedness, or of danger, or of folly.

I have endeavoured to expose in these several lights the notions and practices of those who are enemies to our present establishment. But there is a set of arguments, which I have not yet touched upon, and which often succeed, when all others fail. There are many who will not quit a project, though they find it pernicious, or absurd: but will readily desist from it, when they are convinced it is impracticable. An attempt to subvert the present government is, God be thanked, of this nature. I shall, therefore, apply the considerations of this paper rather to the discretion than the virtue of our malecontents, who should act in the present juncture of affairs like experienced gamesters, that throw up their cards when they know the game is in the enemies hand, without giving themselves any unnecessary vexation in playing it out.

In the reign of our two last British sovereigns, those who did not favour their interest might be ungenerous enough to act upon the prospect of a change, considering the precarious condition of their health, and their want of issue to succeed them. But at present we enjoy a king of a long-lived family, who is in the vigour of his age, and blest with a numerous progeny. To this we may add his remarkable steadiness in adhering to those schemes which he has formed upon the maturest deliberation, and that submissive deference of his Royal Highness both from duty and inclination, to all the measures of his Royal Father. Nor must we omit that personal valour so peculiar to his Majesty and his illustrious house, which would be sufficient to vanquish, as we find it actually deters, both his foreign and domestic enemies.

This great prince is supported by the whole Protestant interest of Europe, and strengthened with a long range of alliances that reach from one end of the continent to the other. He has a great and powerful king for his son-in-law; and can himself command, when he pleases, the whole strength of an electorate in the empire. Such a combination of sovereigns puts one in mind of the apparition of gods which discouraged Æneas from opposing the will of heaven. When his eyes were cleared of that mortal cloud which hung upon them, he saw the several celestial deities acting in a confederacy against him, and immediately gave up a cause which was excluded from all possibility of success.

But it is the greatest happiness, as well as the greatest pleasure of our sovereign, that his chief strength lies in his own kingdoms. Both the branches of our legislature espouse his cause and interest with a becoming duty and zeal. The most considerable and wealthy of his subjects are convinced, that the prosperity of our sovereign and his people are inseparable: and we are very well satisfied, that his Majesty, if the necessity of affairs should require it, might find, among the most dutiful of his subjects, men celebrated for their military characters,

above any of the age in which they live. There is no question but his Majesty will be as generally valued and beloved in his British as he is in his German dominions, when he shall have time to make his royal virtues equally known among us. In the mean while we have the satisfaction to find, that his enemies have been only able to make ill impressions upon the low and ignorant rabble of the nation; and to put the dregs of the people into a ferment.

We have already seen how poor and contemptible a force has been raised by those who have dared to appear openly against his Majesty, and how they were headed and encouraged by men whose sense of their guilt made them desperate in forming so rash an enterprise, and dispirited in the execution of it. But we have not yet seen that strength which would be exerted in the defence of his Majesty, the Protestant religion, and the British liberties, were the danger great enough to require it. Should the king be reduced to the necessity of setting up the royal standard, how many thousands would range themselves under it! what a concourse would there be of nobles and patriots! we should see men of another spirit than what has appeared among the enemies to our country, and such as would out-shine the rebellious part of their fellow-subjects as much in their gallantry as in their cause.

I shall not so much suspect the understandings of our adversaries, as to think it necessary to enforce these considerations, by putting them in mind of that fidelity and allegiance which is so visible in his Majesty's fleet and army, or of many other particulars which, in all human probability, will perpetuate our present form of government, and which may be suggested to them by their own private thoughts.

The party, indeed, that is opposite to our present happy settlement, seem to be driven out of the hopes of all human methods for carrying on their cause, and are, therefore, reduced to the poor comfort of prodigies and old women's fables. They begin to see armies in the

clouds,[a] when all upon the earth hath forsaken them. Nay, I have been lately shewn a written prophecy that is handed among them with great secrecy, by which it appears their chief reliance at present is upon a Cheshire miller who was born with two thumbs upon one hand.

I have addressed this whole paper to the despair of our malecontents, not with a design to aggravate the pain of it, but to use it as a means[b] of making them happy. Let them seriously consider the vexation and disquietude of mind that they are treasuring up for themselves, by struggling with a power which will be always too hard for them; and by converting his Majesty's reign into their own misfortune, which every impartial man must look upon as the greatest blessing to his country. Let them extinguish those passions, which can only imbitter their lives to them, and deprive them of their share in the happiness of the community. They may conclude that his Majesty, in spite of any opposition they can form against him, will maintain his just authority over them; and whatever uneasiness they may give themselves, they can create none in him, excepting only because they prevent him from exerting equally his natural goodness and benevolence to every subject in his dominions.

[a] The superstition of the people is always ready to *catch*, in times of public commotion; and a remarkable *aurora borealis* happened to set fire to it, at that time.

[b] *As a means*] The use of the word *means*, in English, is remarkable, and may be thought capricious. It seems to be of French extraction. The French have, *le moyen*, frequently, but seldom, *les moyens*: we, on the contrary, prefer the plural termination, *means*; yet still, for the most part (though not always) we use it as a noun of the singular number, or as the French *le moyen*. It is one of those anomalies, which use hath introduced and established, in spite of *analogy*. We should not be allowed to say—*a mean* of making men happy.

No. 25. FRIDAY, MARCH 17.

Quid est sapientia? semper idem velle atque idem nolle.

SENEC.

IF we may believe the observation which is made of us by foreigners, there is no nation in Europe so much given to change as the English. There are some who ascribe this to the fickleness of our climate; and others to the freedom of our government. From one or both of these causes their writers derive that variety of humours which appears among the people in general, and that inconsistency of character which is to be found in almost every particular person. But as a man should always be upon his guard against the vices to which he is most exposed, so we should take a more than ordinary care not to lie at the mercy of the weather in our moral conduct, nor to make a capricious use of that liberty which we enjoy by the happiness of our civil constitution.

This instability of temper ought in a particular manner to be checked, when it shews itself in political affairs, and disposes men to wander from one scheme of government to another: since such a fickleness of behaviour in public measures, cannot but be attended with very fatal effects to our country.

In the first place; it hinders any great undertaking, which requires length of time for its accomplishment, from being brought to its due perfection. There is not any instance in history which better confirms this observation, than that which is still fresh in every one's memory. We engaged in the late war with a design to reduce an exorbitant growth of power in the most dangerous enemy to Great Britain. We gained a long and wonderful series of victories, and had scarce any thing left to do, but to reap the fruits of them: when on a sudden our patience failed us; we grew tired of our undertaking; and received terms from those, who were

upon the point of giving us whatever we could have demanded of them.

This mutability of mind in the English, makes the ancient friends of our nation very backward to engage with us in such alliances as are necessary for our mutual defence and security. It is a common notion among foreigners, that the English are good confederates in an enterprise which may be dispatched within a short compass of time; but that they are not to be depended upon in a work which cannot be finished without constancy and perseverance. Our late measures have so blemished our national credit in this particular, that those potentates who are entered into treaties with his present Majesty, have been solely encouraged to it by their confidence in his personal firmness and integrity.

I need not, after this suggest to my reader the ignominy and reproach that falls upon a nation, which distinguishes itself among its neighbours by such a wavering and unsettled conduct.

This our inconsistency in the pursuit of schemes which have been thoroughly digested, has as bad an influence on our domestic as on our foreign affairs. We are told, that the famous prince of Conde used to ask the English ambassador, upon the arrival of a mail, 'Who was Secretary of State in England by that post?' as a piece of raillery upon the fickleness of our politics. But what has rendered this a misfortune to our country, is, that public ministers have no sooner made themselves masters of their business, than they have been dismissed from their employments; and that this disgrace has befallen very many of them, not because they have deserved it, but because the people love to see new faces in high posts of honour.

It is a double misfortune to a nation, which is thus given to change, when they have a sovereign at the head of them, that is prone to fall in with all the turns and veerings of the people. Sallust, the gravest of all the Roman historians, who had formed his notions of regal authority from the manner in which he saw it exerted among the barbarous nations, makes the following

remark: *Plerumque Regiæ voluntates, uti vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi adversæ.* 'The wills of kings, as they are generally vehement, are likewise very fickle, and at different times opposite to themselves.' Were there any colour for this general observation, how much does it redound to the honour of such princes who are exceptions to it!

The natural consequence of an unsteady government, is the perpetuating of strife and faction among a divided people. Whereas a king who persists in those schemes which he has laid, and has no other view in them but the good of his subjects, extinguishes all hopes of advancement in those who would grow great by an opposition to his measures, and insensibly unites the contending parties in their common interest.

Queen Elizabeth, who makes the greatest figure among our English sovereigns, was most eminently remarkable for that steadiness and uniformity which ran through all her actions, during that long and glorious reign. She kept up to her chosen motto in every part of her life; and never lost sight of those great ends, which she proposed to herself on her accession to the throne, the happiness of her people, and the strengthening of the Protestant interest. She often interposed her royal authority to break the cabals which were forming against her first ministers, who grew old and died in those stations which they filled with so great abilities. By this means she baffled the many attempts of her foreign and domestic enemies, and entirely broke the whole force and spirit of that party among her subjects, which was popishly affected, and which was not a little formidable in the beginning of her reign.

The frequent changes and alterations in public proceedings, the multiplicity of schemes introduced one upon another, with the variety of short-lived favourites, that prevailed in their several turns under the government of her successors, have by degrees broken us into those unhappy distinctions and parties, which have given so much uneasiness to our kings, and so often endangered the safety of their people.

I question not but every impartial reader hath been before-hand with me, in considering, on this occasion, the happiness of our country under the government of his present Majesty; who is so deservedly famous for an inflexible adherence to those counsels which have a visible tendency to the public good, and to those persons who heartily concur with him in promoting these his generous designs.

A prince of this character will be dreaded by his enemies, and served with courage and zeal by his friends; and will either instruct us by his example, to fix the unsteadiness of our politics, or by his conduct hinder it from doing us any prejudice.

Upon the whole, as there is no temper of mind more unmanly in a private person, nor more pernicious to the public in a member of a community, than that changeableness with which we are too justly branded by all our neighbours, it is to be hoped that the sound part of the nation will give no farther occasion for this reproach, but continue steady to that happy establishment which has now taken place among us. And as obstinacy in prejudices which are detrimental to our country, ought not to be mistaken for that virtuous resolution and firmness of mind which is necessary to our preservation, it is to be wished that the enemies to our constitution would so far indulge themselves in this national humour, as to come into one change more, by falling in with that plan of government which at present they think fit to oppose. At least we may expect they will be so wise as to shew a legal obedience to the best of kings, who profess the duty of passive-obedience to the worst.

No. 26. MONDAY, MARCH 19.

Bella viri pacemque gerant, quæis bella gerenda.
VIRG.

WHEN the Athenians had long contended against the power of Philip, he demanded of them to give up their orators, as well knowing their opposition would be soon at an end if it were not irritated from time to time by these tongue-warriors. I have endeavoured, for the same reason, to gain our female adversaries, and by that means to disarm the party of its principal strength. Let them give us up their women, and we know by experience how inconsiderable a resistance we are to expect from their men.

This sharp political humour has but lately prevailed in so great a measure as it now does among the beautiful part of our species. They used to employ themselves wholly in the scenes of a domestic life, and provided a woman could keep her house in order, she never troubled herself about regulating the commonwealth. The eye of the mistress was wont to make her pewter shine, and to inspect every part of her household furniture as much as her looking-glass. But at present our discontented matrons are so conversant in matters of state, that they wholly neglect their private affairs: for we may always observe that a gossip in politics is a slattern in her family.

It is indeed a melancholy thing to see the disorders of a household that is under the conduct of an angry stateswoman, who lays out all her thoughts upon the public, and is only attentive to find out miscarriages in the ministry. Several women of this turn are so earnest in contending for hereditary right, that they wholly neglect the education of their sons and heirs; and are so taken up with their zeal for the church, that they cannot find time to teach their children their catechism. A lady who thus intrudes into the province of the men,

was so astonishing a character among the old Romans, that when Amæsia* presented herself to speak before the senate, they looked upon it as a prodigy, and sent messengers to inquire of the oracle, what it might portend to the commonwealth?

It would be manifestly to the disadvantage of the British cause, should our pretty loyalists profess an indifference in state-affairs, while their disaffected sisters are thus industrious to the prejudice of their country; and accordingly we have the satisfaction to find our she-associates are not idle upon this occasion. It is owing to the good principles of these his Majesty's fair and faithful subjects, that our country-women appear no less amiable in the eyes of the male-world, than they have done in former ages. For where a great number of flowers grow, the ground at a distance seems entirely covered with them, and we must walk into it, before we can distinguish the several weeds that spring up in such a beautiful mass of colours. Our great concern is, to find deformity can arise among so many charms, and that the most lovely parts of the creation can make themselves the most disagreeable. But it is an observation of the philosophers, that the best things may be corrupted into the worst; and the ancients did not scruple to affirm, that the furies and the graces were of the same sex.

As I should do the nation and themselves good service, if I could draw the ladies, who still hold out against his Majesty, into the interest of our present establishment, I shall propose to their serious consideration, the several inconveniencies which those among them undergo, who have not yet surrendered to the government.

* *Amæsia*] The story is told in Plutarch, [Numa, p. 77. Ed. Par. 1624,] with this difference, that no name is mentioned, and, that the pleading was in the *forum*, and not before the senate.

Dacier, indeed, in his notes on this place, mentions an *Amasia Sentia*, who pleaded before the Prætor in a capital cause, but refers to no authority, and says nothing of consulting the oracle. Mr. A. seems to have jumbled these two stories together, and to have put *Amæsia* for *Amasia*.

They should first reflect on the great sufferings and persecutions to which they expose themselves by the obstinacy of their behaviour. They lose their elections in every club where they are set up for toasts. They are obliged by their principles to stick a patch on the most unbecoming side of their fore-heads. They forego the advantage of birth-day suits. They are insulted by the loyalty of claps and hisses every time they appear at a play. They receive no benefit from the army, and are never the better for all the young fellows that wear hats and feathers. They are forced to live in the country and feed their chicken; at the same time that they might shew themselves at court, and appear in brocade, if they behaved themselves well. In short, what must go to the heart of every fine woman, they throw themselves quite out of the fashion.

The above-mentioned motive must have an influence upon the gay part of the sex; and as for those who are acted by more sublime and moral principles, they should consider, that they cannot signalize themselves as malecontents, without breaking through all the amiable instincts and softer virtues, which are peculiarly ornamental to womankind. Their timorous, gentle, modest behaviour; their affability, meekness, good-breeding, and many other beautiful dispositions of mind must be sacrificed to a blind and furious zeal for they do not know what. A man is startled when he sees a pretty bosom heaving with such party-rage, as is disagreeable even in that sex which is of a more coarse and rugged make. And yet such is our misfortune, that we sometimes see a pair of stays ready to burst with sedition; and hear the most masculine passions exprest in the sweetest voices. I have lately been told of a country-gentlewoman, pretty much famed for this virility of behaviour in party-disputes, who, upon venting her notions very freely in a strange place, was carried before an honest justice of the peace. This prudent magistrate observing her to be a large black woman, and finding by her discourse that she was no better than a rebel in a riding-hood, began to suspect her for my Lord Nithis-

dale; till a stranger came to her rescue, who assured him, with tears in his eyes, that he was her husband.

In the next place, our British ladies may consider, that by interesting themselves so zealously in the affairs of the public, they are engaged, without any necessity, in the crimes which are often committed even by the best of parties, and which they are naturally exempted from by the privilege of their sex. The worst character a female could formerly arrive at, was of being an ill woman; but by their present conduct, she may likewise deserve the character of an ill subject. They come in for their share of political guilt, and have found a way to make themselves much greater criminals, than their mothers before them.

I have great hopes that these motives, when they are assisted by their own reflections, will incline the fair ones of the adverse party to come over to the national interest, in which their own is so highly concerned; especially if they consider, that by these superfluous employments which they take upon them as partisans, they do not only dip themselves in an unnecessary guilt, but are obnoxious to a grief and anguish of mind, which doth not properly fall within their lot. And here I would advise every one of these exasperated ladies, who indulges that opprobrious eloquence which is so much in fashion, to reflect on Æsop's fable of the viper. 'This little animal, (says the old moralist) chancing to meet with a file, began to lick it with her tongue till the blood came; which gave her a very silly satisfaction, as imagining the blood came from the file, notwithstanding all the smart was in her own tongue.'

No. 27. FRIDAY, MARCH 23.

——dii visa secundant.

LUCR.

IT is an old observation, that a time of peace is always a time of prodigies; for as our news-writers must adorn their papers with that which the critics call, 'The Marvellous,' they are forced in a dead calm of affairs, to ransack every element for proper amusements, and either to astonish their readers from time to time with a strange and wonderful sight, or be content to lose their custom. The sea is generally filled with monsters when there are no fleets upon it. Mount Ætna immediately began to rage upon the extinction of the rebellion: and woe to the people of Catanea, if the peace continues; for they are sure to be shaken every week with earthquakes, till they are relieved by the siege of some other great town in Europe. The air has likewise contributed its quota of prodigies. We had a blazing star by the last mail from Genoa; and in the present dearth of battles, have been very opportunely entertained, by persons of undoubted credit, with a civil war in the clouds, where our sharp-sighted malecontents discovered many objects invisible to an eye that is dimmed by whig-principles.

I question not but this paper will fall in with the present humour, since it contains a very remarkable vision of a highland seer,[a] who is famous among the mountains, and known by the name of Second-sighted-Sawney. Had he been able to write, we might probably have seen this vision sooner in print; for it happened to him very early in the late hard winter; and is transmitted to me by a student at Glasgow, who took the

[a] Mr. A. is much too complaisant to his *Highland-seer*, in giving him the honour of so fine a vision as the following. He might have introduced it, as a *dream* of his own, with more propriety.

whole relation from him, and stuck close to the facts, though he has delivered them in his own style.

"SAWNEY was descended of an ancient family, very much renowned for their skill in prognostics. Most of his ancestors were second-sighted, and his mother but narrowly escaped being burnt for a witch. As he was going out one morning very early to steal a sheep, he was seized on the sudden with a fit of second-sight. The face of the whole country about him was changed in the twinkling of an eye, and presented him with a wide prospect of new scenes and objects, which he had never seen till that day.

"He discovered at a great distance from him a large fabric, which cast such a glistering light about it, that it looked like a huge rock of diamond. Upon the top of it was planted a standard, streaming in a strong northern wind, and embroidered with a mixture of thistles and flower-de-luces. As he was amusing himself with this strange sight, he heard a bagpipe at some distance behind him, and, turning about, saw a general, who seemed very much animated with the sound of it, marching towards him at the head of a numerous army. He learnt, upon inquiry, that they were making a procession to the structure which stood before him, and which he found was the Temple of Rebellion. He immediately struck in with them; but described this march to the temple with so much horror, that he shivered every joint all the while he spoke of it. They were forced to clamber over so many rocks, and to tread upon the brink of so many precipices, that they were very often in danger of their lives. Sawney declared, that, for his own part, he walked in fear of his neck every step he took. Upon their coming within a few furlongs of the temple, they passed through a very thick grove, consecrated to a deity who was known by the name of Treason. They here dispersed themselves into abundance of labyrinths and covered walks which led to the temple. The path was so very slippery, the shade so exceeding gloomy, and the whole wood so full of echoes, that they were forced to march with the greatest wariness, circumspec-

tion, and silence. They at length arrived at a great gate, which was the principal avenue to that magnificent fabric. Sawney stood some time at the entrance to observe the splendor of the building, and was not a little entertained with a prodigious number of statues, which were planted up and down in a spacious court that lay before it; but, upon examining it more nicely, he found the whole fabric, which made such a glittering appearance, and seemed impregnable, was composed of ice, and that the several statues which seemed at a distance to be made of the whitest marble, were nothing else but so many figures in snow. The front of the temple was very curiously adorned with stars and garters, ducal coronets, generals' staffs, and many other emblems of honour wrought in the most beautiful frost-work. After having stood at gaze some time before this great gate, he discovered on it an inscription, signifying it to be the Gate of Perjury. There was erected near it a great Colossus in snow that had two faces, and was drest like a Jesuit, with one of its hands upon a book, and the other grasping a dagger. Upon entering into the court, he took a particular survey of several of the figures. There was Sedition with a trumpet in her hand, and Rapine in the garb of a Highlander: Ambition, Envy, Disgrace, Poverty, and Disappointment, were all of them represented under their proper emblems. Among other statues, he observed that of Rumour whispering an ideot in the ear, who was the representative of Credulity; and Faction embracing with her hundred arms an old-fashioned figure in a steeple-crowned hat, that was designed to express a cunning old gipsy, called Passive-obedience. Zeal too had a place among the rest, with a bandage over her eyes, though one would not have expected to have seen her represented in snow. But the most remarkable object in this court-yard, was a huge tree that grew up before the porch of the temple, and was of the same kind with that, which Virgil tells us flourished at the entrance of the infernal regions. For it bore nothing but dreams, which hung in clusters under every leaf of it. The travellers refreshed themselves in the

shade of this tree before they entered the Temple of Rebellion, and after their frights and fatigues, received great comfort in the fruit which fell from it. At length the gates of the temple flew open, and the crowd rushed into it. In the centre of it was a grim idol, with a sword in the right hand, and a firebrand in the left. The fore-part of the pedestal was curiously embossed with a triumph, while the back-part, that lay more out of sight, was filled with gibbets and axes. This dreadful idol is worshipped, like several of old, with human sacrifices, and his votaries were consulting among themselves, how to gratify him with hecatombs; when, on a sudden, they were surprised with the alarm of a great light which appeared in the southern part of the heavens, and made its progress directly towards them. This light appeared as a great mass of flame, or rather glory, like that of the sun in its strength. There were three figures in the midst of it, who were known by their several hieroglyphics, to be Religion, Loyalty, and Valour. The last had a graceful air, a blooming countenance, and a star upon its breast, which shot forth several pointed beams of a peculiar lustre. The glory which encompassed them, covered the place, and darted its rays with so much strength, that the whole fabric and all its ornaments began to melt. The several emblems of honour, which were wrought on the front in the brittle materials above-mentioned, trickled away under the first impressions of the heat. In short, the thaw was so violent, that the temple and statues ran off in a sudden torrent, and the whole winter-piece was dissolved. The covered walks were laid open by the light which shone through every part of them, and the dream-tree withered like the famous gourd that was smitten by the noon-day sun. As for the votaries, they left the place with the greatest precipitation, and dispersed themselves by flight into a thousand different paths among the mountains."

No. 28. MONDAY, MARCH 26.

———Incendia lumen
Præbebant, aliquisque malo fuit usus in illo.

OVID MET.

SIR Francis Bacon, in the dedication before his history of Henry the seventh, observes, that peaceable times are the best to live in, though not so proper to furnish materials for a writer: as hilly countries afford the most entertaining prospects, though a man would chuse to travel through a plain one. To this we may add, that the times, which are full of disorders and tumults, are likewise the fullest of instruction. History, indeed, furnishes us with very distinct accounts of factions, conspiracies, civil wars, and rebellions, with the fatal consequences that attend them: but they do not make such deep and lasting impressions on our minds, as events of the same nature, to which we have ourselves been witnesses, and in which we, or our friends and acquaintance, have been sufferers. As adversity makes a man wise in his private affairs, civil calamities give him prudence and circumspection in his public conduct.

The miseries of the civil war, under the reign of King Charles the first, and the consequences which ensued upon them, did, for many years, deter the inhabitants of our island from the thoughts of engaging anew in such desperate undertakings: and convinced them, by fatal experience, that nothing could be so pernicious to the English, and so opposite to the genius of the people, as the subversion of monarchy. In the like manner we may hope that the great expences brought upon the nation by the present rebellion; the sufferings of innocent people, who have lived in that place which was the scene of it; with that dreadful prospect of ruin and confusion which must have followed its success; will secure us from the like attempts for the future, and fix his Majesty upon the throne of Great Britain; espe-

cially when those who are prompted to such wicked practices reflect upon the punishments to which the criminals have exposed themselves, and the miseries in which they have involved their relations, friends, and families.

It will be likewise worth their while to consider, how such tumults and riots, as have been encouraged by many, who we may hope did not propose to themselves such fatal consequences, lead to a civil war: and how naturally that seditious kind of conversation, which many seem to think consistent with their religion and morality, ends in an open rebellion. I question not but the more virtuous and considerate part of our male-contents, are now stung with a very just remorse for this their manner of proceeding, which has so visibly tended to the destruction of their friends, and the sufferings of their country. This may, at the same time, prove an instructive lesson to the boldest and bravest among the disaffected, not to build any hopes upon the talkative zealots of their party; who have shewn by their whole behaviour, that their hearts are equally filled with treason and cowardice. An army of trumpeters would give as great a strength to a cause, as this confederacy of tongue-warriors; who, like those military musicians, content themselves with animating their friends to battle, and run out of the engagement upon the first onset.

But one of the most useful maxims we can learn from the present rebellion; is, that nothing can be more contemptible and insignificant, than the scum of a people, when they are instigated against a king, who is supported by the two branches of the legislature. A mob may pull down a meeting-house, but will never be able to overturn a government, which has a courageous and wise prince at the head of it, and one who is zealously assisted by the great council of the nation, that best know the value of him. The authority of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, in conjunction with that of our soyereign, is not to be controlled by a tumultuary rabble. It is big with fleets and armies, can fortify it-

self with what laws it shall judge proper for its own defence, can command the wealth of the kingdom for the security of the people, and engage the whole Protestant interest of Europe in so good and just a cause. A disorderly multitude contending with the body of the legislature, is like a man in a fit under the conduct of one in the fullness of his health and strength. Such a one is sure to be over-ruled in a little time, though he deals about his blows, and exerts himself in the most furious convulsions while the distemper is upon him.

We may farther learn from the course of the present rebellion, who, among the foreign states in our neighbourhood, are the true and natural friends of Great-Britain, if we observe which of them gave us their assistance in reducing our country to a state of peace and tranquillity; and which of them used their endeavours to heighten our confusions, and plunge us into all the evils of a civil war. I shall only take notice under this head, that in former ages it was the constant policy of France to raise and cherish intestine feuds and discords in the isle of Great Britain, that we might either fall a prey into their hands, or that they might prosecute their designs upon the continent with less interruption. Innumerable instances of this nature occur in history. The most remarkable one was that in the reign of King Charles the first. Though that prince was married to a daughter of France, and was personally beloved and esteemed in the French court, it is well known that they abetted both parties in the civil war, and always furnished supplies to the weaker side, lest there should be an end put to those fatal divisions.

We might also observe, that this rebellion has been a means of discovering to his Majesty,[a] how much he may depend upon the professions and principles of the several parties among his own subjects; who are those

[a] *A means of discovering to his Majesty,*] The verb, *discover,* implies the exertion of personal faculties, and therefore cannot be used thus absolutely; I mean, without a reference to some agent. He might have said, *that by means of this rebellion, his Majesty has discovered how much,* &c.

persons that have espoused his interests with zeal or indifference; and who among them are influenced to their allegiance by places, duty, or affection. But as these, and several other considerations, are obvious to the thoughts of every reader, I shall conclude, with observing how naturally many of those, who distinguish themselves by the name of the High-Church, unite themselves to the cause of Popery; since it is manifest that all the Protestants concerned in the rebellion, were such as gloried in this distinction.

It would be very unjust, to charge all who have ranged themselves under this new denomination, as if they had done it with a design to favour the interests of Popery. But it is certain that many of them, who at their first setting out were most averse to[a] the doctrines of the church of Rome, have, by the cunning of our adversaries, been inspired with such an unreasonable aversion to their Protestant brethren, and taught to think so favourably of the Roman Catholic principles, (not to mention the endeavours that have been used to reconcile the doctrines of the two churches, which are in themselves as opposite as light and darkness) that they have been drawn over insensibly into its interests. It is no wonder, therefore, that so many of these deluded zealots have been engaged in a cause which they at first abhorred, and have wished or acted for the success of an enterprise, that might have ended in the extirpation of the Protestant religion in this kingdom, and in all Europe. In short, they are like the Syrians, who were first smitten with blindness, and unknowingly led out of their way into the capital of their enemy's country; insomuch that the text tells us, 'When they opened their eyes, they found themselves in the midst of Samaria.'

[a] *Averse to—aversion to*] Many would now say, *averse from;* some, perhaps, *aversion from.* The case seems clearer in the use of the *adjective,* than the *substantive.* Yet the Latins have, *averso* IN *me animo—aversus lucro—aversus defensioni,* &c. But see the note on *dissent with,* in *Whig-Examiner,* No. 1, 446.

No. 29. FRIDAY, MARCH 30.

Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas.
Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.
Dii multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiæ mala luctuosæ.

HOR.

THIS being a day in which the thoughts of our countrymen are, or ought to be, employed on serious subjects, I shall take the opportunity of that disposition of mind in my readers, to recommend to them the practice of those religious and moral virtues, without which all policy is vain, and the best cause deprived of its greatest ornament and support.

Common sense, as well as the experience of all ages, teaches us, that no government can flourish which doth not encourage and propagate religion and morality among all its particular members. It was an observation of the ancient Romans, that their empire had not more increased by the strength of their arms, than by the sanctity of their manners: and Cicero, who seems to have been better versed than any of them, both in the theory and the practice of politics, makes it a doubt, whether it were possible for a community to exist, that had not a prevailing mixture of piety in its constitution. Justice, temperance, humility, and almost every other moral virtue, do not only derive the blessings of Providence upon those who exercise them, but are the natural means for acquiring the public prosperity.*

* *Means for acquiring the public prosperity.*] *Acquire,* is another of those verbs that imply personal agency. See the note on *discover,* in the last paper. It should be, *are the natural means by which men acquire those blessings*—or, *by which states acquire prosperity.* Our grammars are very defective in their account of *verbs active,* which differ widely from each other, though they take the same common name. In some, we regard little more than the transitive effect; in others, some energy of the efficient is chiefly respected. *Procure,* and *acquire,* may, to some, appear synonymous: yet, trade may *procure* that wealth, which the tradesman only *acquires.*

Besides; religious motives and instincts are so busy in the heart of every reasonable creature, that a man who would hope to govern a society without any regard to these principles, is as much to be contemned for his folly, as to be detested for his impiety.

To this we may add, that the world is never sunk into such a state of degeneracy, but they pay a natural veneration to men of virtue; and rejoice to see themselves conducted by those, who act under the awe of a Supreme Being, and who think themselves accountable for all their proceedings to the great judge and superintendent of human affairs.

Those of our fellow-subjects, who are sensible of the happiness they enjoy in his Majesty's accession to the throne, are obliged, by all the duties of gratitude, to adore that Providence which has so signally interposed in our behalf, by clearing a way to the Protestant succession through such difficulties as seemed insuperable; by detecting the conspiracies which have been formed against it; and, by many wonderful events, weakening the hands and baffling the attempts of all his Majesty's enemies, both foreign and domestic.

The party who distinguish themselves by their zeal for the present establishment, should be careful, in a particular manner, to discover in their whole conduct such a reverence for religion, as may shew how groundless that reproach is which is cast upon them by their enemies, of being averse to our national worship. While others engross to themselves the name of the Church, and, in a manner, excommunicate the best part of their fellow-subjects; let us shew ourselves the genuine sons of it, by practising the doctrines which it teaches. The advantage will be visibly on our side, if we stick to its essentials; while they triumph in that empty denomination which they bestow upon themselves. Too many of them are already dipt in the guilt of perjury and sedition; and as we remain unblemished in these particulars, let us endeavour to excel them in all the other parts of religion, and we shall quickly find, that a regular morality is, in its own nature, more

popular, as well as more meritorious, than an intemperate zeal.

We have likewise, in the present times of confusion and disorder, an opportunity of shewing our abhorrence of several principles which have been ascribed to us by the malice of our enemies. A disaffection to kings and kingly government, with a proneness to rebellion, have been often very unjustly charged on that party which goes by the name of whigs. Our steady and continued adherence to his Majesty and the present happy settlement, will the most effectually confute this calumny. Our adversaries, who know very well how odious commonwealth principles are to the English nation, have inverted the very sense of words and things, rather than not continue to brand us with this imaginary guilt: for with some of these men, at present, loyalty to our king is republicanism, and rebellion passive-obedience.

It has been an old objection to the principles of the whigs, that several of their leaders, who have been zealous for redressing the grievances of government, have not behaved themselves better than the tories in domestic scenes of life; but at the same time have been public patriots and private oppressors. This objection, were it true, has no weight in it, since the misbehaviour of particular persons does not at all affect their cause, and since a man may act laudably in some respects, who does not so in others. However, it were to be wished, that men would not give occasion even to such invectives; but at the same time they consult the happiness of the whole, that they would promote it to their utmost in all their private dealings among those who lie more immediately within their influence. In the mean while I must observe, that this reproach, which may be often met with in print and conversation, tends in reality to the honour of the whigs, as it supposes that a greater regard to justice and humanity is to be expected from them, than from those of the opposite party: and it is certain we cannot better recommend our principles, than by such actions as are their natural and genuine fruits.

Were we thus careful to guard ourselves in a particular manner against these groundless imputations of our enemies, and to rise above them as much in our morality as in our politics, our cause would be always as flourishing as it is just. It is certain, that our notions have a more natural tendency to such a practice, as we espouse the Protestant interest in opposition to that of Popery, which is so far from advancing morality by its doctrines, that it has weakened, or entirely subverted, many of the duties even of natural religion.

I shall conclude, with recommending one virtue more to the friends of the present establishment, wherein the whigs have been remarkably deficient; which is, a general unanimity and concurrence in the pursuit of such measures as are necessary for the well-being of their country. As it is a laudable freedom of thought which unshackles their minds from the poor and narrow prejudices of education, and opens their eyes to a more extensive view of the public good; the same freedom of thought disposes several of them to the embracing of particular schemes and maxims, and to a certain singularity of opinion which proves highly prejudicial to their cause; especially when they are encouraged in them by a vain breath of popularity, or by the artificial praises which are bestowed on them by the opposite party. This temper of mind, though the effect of a noble principle, very often betrays their friends, and brings into power the most pernicious and implacable of their enemies. In cases of this nature, it is the duty of an honest and prudent man, to sacrifice a doubtful opinion to the concurring judgment of those whom he believes to be well-intentioned to their country, and who have better opportunities of looking into all its most complicated interests. An honest party of men, acting with unanimity, are of infinitely greater consequence than the same party aiming at the same end by different views: as a large diamond is of a thousand times greater value whilst it remains entire, than when it is cut into a multitude of smaller stones, notwithstanding they may each of them be very curiously set, and are all of the same water.

No. 30. MONDAY, APRIL 2.

———*I, verbis virtutem illude superbis.*

VIRG.

As I was some years ago engaged in conversation with a fashionable French abbé upon a subject which the people of that kingdom love to start in discourse, the comparative greatness of the two nations; he asked me, 'How many souls I thought there might be in London?' I replied, being willing to do my country all the honour I fairly could, 'That there were several who computed them at near a million:' but not finding that surprise I expected in his countenance, I returned the question upon him, how many he thought there might be in Paris? to which he answered, with a certain grimace of coldness and indifference, 'about ten or twelve millions.'

It would, indeed, be incredible to a man who has never been in France, should one relate the extravagant notion they entertain of themselves, and the mean opinion they have of their neighbours. There are certainly (notwithstanding the visible decay of learning and taste which has appeared among them of late years) many particular persons in that country, who are eminent in the highest degree for their good sense, as well as for their knowledge in all the arts and sciences. But I believe every one, who is acquainted with them, will allow, that the people in general fall short of those, who border upon them, in strength and solidity of understanding. One would therefore no more wonder to see the most shallow nation of Europe the most vain, than to find the most empty fellows in every distinct nation more conceited and censorious than the rest of their countrymen. Prejudice and self-sufficiency naturally proceed from inexperience of the world, and ignorance of mankind. As it requires but very small abilities to discover the imperfections of another, we find that none are more apt to turn their neighbours into ridicule, than

those who are the most ridiculous in their own private conduct.

Those among the French, who have seen nothing but their own country, can scarce bring themselves to believe, that a nation, which lies never so little north of them, is not full of Goths and Vandals. Nay, those among them who travel into foreign parts, are so prejudiced in favour of their own imaginary politeness, that they are apt to look upon every thing as barbarous in proportion as it deviates from what they find at home. No less a man than an ambassador of France, being in conversation with our king, of glorious memory, and willing to encourage his Majesty, told him, that he talked like a Frenchman. The king smiled at the encomium which was given him, and only replied, 'sir, I am sure you do.' An eminent writer of the last age was so offended at this kind of insolence, which shewed itself very plentifully in one of their travellers who gave an account of England, that he vindicated the honour of his country in a book full of just satire and ingenuity. I need not acquaint my reader, that I mean Bishop Sprat's answer to Sorbiere.

Since I am upon this head, I cannot forbear mentioning some profound remarks that I have been lately shewn in a French book, the author of which lived, it seems, some time in England. 'The English,' says this curious traveller, 'very much delight in pudding. This is the favourite dish, not only of the clergy, but of the people in general. Provided there be a pudding upon the table, no matter what are the other dishes; they are sure to make a feast. They think themselves so happy when they have a pudding before them, that if any one would tell a friend he is arrived in a lucky juncture, the ordinary salutation is, 'sir, I am glad to see you; you are come in pudding-time.'

One cannot have the heart to be angry at this judicious observer, notwithstanding he has treated us like a race of Hottentots, because he only taxes us with our inordinate love of pudding, which, it must be confessed, is not so elegant a dish as frog and sallad. Every one

who has been at Paris, knows that *Un gros milord Anglois* is a frequent jest upon the French stage; as if corpulence was a proper subject for satire, or a man of honour could help his being fat, who eats suitable[a] to his quality.

It would be endless to recount the invectives which are to be met with among the French historians, and even in Mezeray himself, against the manners of our countrymen. Their authors, in other kinds of writing, are likewise very liberal in characters of the same nature. I cannot forbear mentioning the learned Monsieur Patin in particular; who tells us in so many words, 'That the English are a people, whom he naturally abhors:' and in another place, 'that he looks upon the English among the several nations of men, as he does upon wolves among the several species of beasts.' A British writer would be very justly charged with want of politeness, who, in return to this civility, should look upon the French as that part of mankind which answers to a species in the brute creation, whom we call in English by the name of monkies.

If the French load us with these indignities, we may observe, for our comfort, that they give the rest of their borderers no better quarter. If we are a dull, heavy, phlegmatic people, we are, it seems, no worse than our neighbours. As an instance, I shall set down at large a remarkable passage in a famous book entitled Chevræana, written many years ago by the celebrated Monsieur Chevreau; after having advertised my reader, that the duchess of Hanover, and the princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, who are mentioned in it, were the late excellent princess Sophia and her sister.

'*Tilenus pour un Allemand, parle et ecrit bien François,*' *dit Scaliger:* '*Gretzer a bien de l'esprit pour un Allemand,*' *dit le Cardinal du Perron: Et le P. Bouhours met en question, si un Allemand peut être bel esprit? on ne doit juger ni bien ni mal d'une nation par un particulier ni d'un par-*

[a] He should have said *suitably;* and he would have said it, but for the jingle that hurt his ear, in *quality.*

ticulier par sa nation. Il y a des Allemands, comme des François, qui n'ont point d'esprit ; des Allemands, qui ont scû plus d'Hebreu, plus de Grec, que Scaliger & le Cardinal du Perron: J'honore fort le P. Bouhours, qui a du merite ; mais J'ose dire, que la France n'a point de plus bel Esprit que Madame la Duchese de Hanovre d'aujourd-hui, ni de personne plus solidement savante en philosophie que l'etoit Madame la Princesse Elizabeth de Boheme, sa Sœur: Et je ne croi pas que 'on refuse le même titre à beaucoup d'Academiciens d'Allemagne dont les Ouvrages meriteroient bien d'être traduits. Il y a d' autres Princesses en Allemagne, qui ont infiniment de l'esprit. Les François disent c'est un Allemand, pour exprimer un homme pesant, brutal: & les Allemands comme les Italiens, c'est un François, pour dire un fou & un etourdi. C'est aller trop loin: comme le Prince de Salé dit de Ruyter, Il est honnête homme, c'est bien dommage qu'il soit Chrétien. Chevræana, tom. I.

" 'Tilenus,' says Scaliger, 'speaks and writes well for a German.' 'Gretzer has a great deal of wit for a German,' says Cardinal Perron. And Father Bouhours makes it a question, whether a German can be a wit? One ought not to judge well or ill of a nation from a particular person, nor of a particular person from his nation. There are Germans, as there are French, who have no wit; and Germans who are better skilled in Greek and Hebrew than either Scaliger or the Cardinal du Perron. I have a great honour for Father Bouhours, who is a man of merit; but will be bold to say, that there is not in all France, a person of more wit than the present Duchess of Hanover; nor more thoroughly knowing in philosophy than was the late Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, her sister; and I believe none can refuse the same title to many academicians in Germany, whose works very well deserve to be translated into our tongue. There are other Princesses in Germany who have also an infinite deal of wit. The French say of a man, that he is a German, when they would signify that he is dull and heavy; and the Germans, as well as the Italians, when they would call a man a hair-brain'd coxcomb,

says he is a Frenchman. This is going too far, and is like the Governor of Sallee's saying of De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, 'He is an honest man, 'tis a great pity he is a Christian.' "

Having already run my paper out to its usual length, I have not room for many reflections on that which is the subject of it. The last cited author has been beforehand with me in its proper moral. I shall only add to it, that there has been an unaccountable disposition among the English of late years, to fetch the fashion from the French, not only in their dress and behaviour, but even in their judgments and opinions of mankind. It will, however, be reasonable for us, if we concur with them in their contempt of other neighbouring nations, that we should likewise regard ourselves[a] under the same view in which they are wont to place us. The representations they make of us, are as of a nation the least favoured by them; and, as these are agreeable to the natural aversion they have for us, are more disadvantageous than the pictures they have drawn of any other people in Europe.

No. 31. FRIDAY, APRIL 6.

Omnes homines, P. C. qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira, atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. CÆSAR APUD SALLUST.

I HAVE purposely avoided, during the whole course of this paper, to speak any thing concerning the treatment which is due to such persons as have been concerned in the late rebellion, because I would not seem to irritate justice against those who are under the prosecution of the law, nor incense any of my readers against unhappy, though guilty men. But when we find the

[a] *Reasonable for us, that we should regard ourselves*] Improperly expressed. It should either be—*reasonable that we should regard ourselves*, Or else—*reasonable for us to regard ourselves.*

proceedings of our government, in this particular, traduced and misrepresented, it is the duty of every good subject to set them in their proper light.

I am the more prompted to this undertaking by a pamphlet, entitled, 'An argument to prove the affections of the people of England to be the best security of the government; humbly offered to the consideration of the patrons of severity, and applied to the present juncture of affairs.' Had the whole scope of the author been answerable to his title, he would have only undertaken to prove, what every man in his wits is already convinced of. But the drift of the pamphlet is, to stir up our compassion towards the rebels, and our indignation against the government. The author, who knew that such a design as this could not be carried on without a great deal of artifice and sophistry, has puzzled and perplexed his cause, by throwing his thoughts together in such a studied confusion, that upon this account, if upon any, his pamphlet is, as the party have represented it, unanswerable.

The famous Monsieur Bayle compares the answering of an immethodical author to the hunting of a duck: when you have him full in your sight, and fancy yourself within reach of him, he gives you the slip, and becomes invisible. His argument is lost in such a variety of matter, that you must catch it where you can, as it rises and disappears in the several parts of his discourse.

The writer of this pamphlet could, doubtless, have ranged his thoughts in much better order, if he had pleased; but he knew very well that error is not to be advanced by perspicuity. In order, therefore, to answer this pamphlet, I must reduce the substance of it under proper heads; and disembroil the thoughts of the author, since he did not think fit to do it himself.

In the first place, I shall observe, that the terms which the author makes use of, are loose, general, and undefined, as will be shewn in the sequel of this paper; and, what less becomes a fair reasoner, he puts wrong and invidious names on every thing, to colour a false way of

arguing. He allows that the rebels indisputably merit to be severely chastised; that they deserve it according to law; and that, if they are punished, they have none to thank but themselves. (p. 7.) How can a man, after such a concession, make use sometimes of the word 'cruelty,' but generally of 'revenge,' when he pleads against the exercise of what, according to his own notion, is at the most but rigid justice? Or why are such executions, which, according to his own opinion, are legal, so often to be called violences and slaughters? Not to mention the appellations given to those who do not agree with him in his opinions for clemency, as the blood-thirsty, the political butchers, state chirurgeons, and the like.

But I shall now speak of that point, which is the great and reigning fallacy of the pamphlet, and runs, more or less, through every paragraph. His whole argument turns upon this single consideration; Whether the king should exert mercy or justice towards those who have openly appeared in the present rebellion? By mercy, he means a general pardon; by justice, a general punishment: so that he supposes no other method practicable in this juncture, than either the forgiving all, or the executing all. Thus he puts the question; 'Whether it be the interest of the prince to destroy the rebels by fire, sword, or gibbet?' (p. 4.) And, speaking of the 'zealots for the government,' he tells us, 'they think no remedy so good, as to make clear work; and that they declare for the utter extirpation of all who are its enemies in the most minute circumstances; as if amputation were the sole remedy these political butchers could find out for the distempers of a state; or that they thought the only way to make the top flourish, were to lop off the under branches.' (p. 5.) He then speaks of the 'coffee-house politicians, and the casuists in red coats; who,' he tells us, 'are for the utmost rigour that their laws of war, or laws of convenience, can inspire them with.' (p. 5.) Again, 'it is represented,' says he, 'that the rebels deserve the highest punishment the laws can inflict.' (p. 7.) And afterwards tells us, 'the ques-

tion is, Whether the government shall shew mercy, or take a reverend divine's advice, to slay man and woman, infant and suckling?' (p. 8.) Thus again he tells us, 'the friends to severe counsels alledge, that the government ought not to be moved by compassion; and that the law should have its course.' (p. 9.) And in another place puts these words in their mouths, 'He may still retain their affection, and yet let the laws have their course in punishing the guilty.' (p. 18.) He goes upon the same supposition in the following passages: 'It is impracticable, in so general a corruption, to destroy all who are infected; and, unless you destroy all, you do nothing to the purpose.' (p. 10.) 'Shall our rightful king shew himself less the true father of his people, and afford his pardon to none of those people, who, like king Lear to his daughters, had so great a confidence in his virtue, as to give him all.' (p. 25.) I shall only add, that the concluding paragraph, which is worked up with so much artificial horror, goes upon a supposition answerable to the whole tenor of the pamphlet; and implies, that the impeached lords were to be executed without exception or discrimination.

Thus we see what is the author's idea of that justice against which all his arguments are levelled. If, in the next place, we consider the nature of that clemency which he recommends, we find it to be no less universal and unrestrained.

He declares for a general act of indemnity, (p. 20.) and tells us, 'It is the sense of every dispassionate man of the kingdom, that the rebels may, and ought to be pardoned.' (p. 19.) 'One popular act,' says he, 'would even yet retrieve all. (p. 21.) He declares himself not 'over fond of the doctrines of making examples of traitors;' (ibid.) and that 'the way to prevent things from being brought to an extremity, is to deal mildly with those unfortunate gentlemen engaged in the rebellion.'

The reader may now see in how fallacious a manner this writer has stated the controversy; he supposes there are but two methods of treating the rebels; that is, by

cutting off every one of them to a man, or pardoning every one of them without distinction. Now, if there be a third method between these two extremes, which is on all accounts more eligible than either of them, it is certain that the whole course of his argumentation comes to nothing. Every man of the plainest understanding will easily conclude, that in the case before us, as in most others, we ought to avoid both extremes; that, to destroy every rebel, would be an excessive severity; and, to forgive every one of them, an unreasonable weakness. The proper method of proceeding is that which the author has purposely omitted; namely, to temper justice with mercy; and, according to the different circumstances that aggravate or alleviate the guilt of the offenders, to restrain the force of the laws, or to let them take their proper course. Punishments are necessary to shew there is justice in a government, and pardons to shew there is mercy; and, both together, convince the people, that our constitution, under a good administration, does not only make a difference between the guilty and the innocent, but even among the guilty, between such as are more or less criminal.

This middle method, which has been always practised by wise and good governors, has hitherto been made use of by our sovereign. If, indeed, a stranger, and one who is altogether unacquainted with his Majesty's conduct, should read this pamphlet, he would conclude that every person engaged in the rebellion, was to die by the sword, the halter, or the axe; nay, that their friends and abettors were involved in the same fate. Would it be possible for him to imagine, that of the several thousands openly taken in arms, and liable to death by the laws of their country, not above forty have yet suffered? How would he be surprised to hear, that, notwithstanding his Majesty's troops have been victorious in every engagement, more of his friends have lost their lives in this rebellion, than of his traiterous subjects; though we add to those who have died by the hand of justice those of them who fell in battle? and yet we find a more popular compassion

endeavoured to be raised[a] for the deaths of the guilty, who have brought such calamities on their country, than for the innocent who perished in the defence of it.

This middle method of proceeding, which has been pursued by his Majesty, and is wilfully overlooked by the author, best answers the ends of government; which is to maintain the safety of the public by rewards and punishments. It is also incumbent on a governor, according to the received dictates of religion; which instructs us, 'That he beareth not the sword in vain; but ought to be a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well.' It is likewise in a particular manner the duty of a British king, who obliges himself by his coronation oath to execute 'justice in mercy,' that is, to mix them in his administration, and not to exercise either of them to the total exclusion of the other.

But if we consider the arguments which this author gives for clemency, from the good effects it would produce, we shall find, that they hold true only when applied to such a mercy as serves rather to mitigate than exclude justice. The excellence of that unlimited clemency which the author contends for, is recommended by the following arguments.

First, That it endears a prince to his people. This he descants on in several parts of his book. 'Clemency will endear his person to the nation; and then they will neither have the power nor will to disturb him.' (p. 8.) 'Was there ever a cruel prince that was not hated by his subjects?' (p. 24.) 'A merciful good-natured disposition is of all others the most amiable quality, and in princes always attended with a popular love.' (p. 18.)

It is certain, that such a popular love will always rise towards a good prince, who exercises such a mercy as

[a] *Compassion endeavoured to be raised*] *Endeavour* seems to be one of those neuters which do not admit the passive form after the auxiliary *to be*: we say, *I have endeavoured*, but not, *I am, or it is endeavoured*. Besides, the two participles passive, *endeavoured* to be *raised*, coming so near together, have an ill effect. He might have said—*and yet we find him endeavouring to raise a more popular compassion*, &c.

I have before described, which is consistent with the safety of the constitution, and the good of his kingdom. But if it be thrown away at random, it loses its virtue, lessens the esteem and authority of a prince, and cannot long recommend him, even to the weakest of his subjects, who will find all the effects of cruelty in such an ill-grounded compassion. It was a famous saying of William Rufus, and is quoted to his honour by historians: "Whosoever spares perjured men, robbers, plunderers, and traitors, deprives all good men of their peace and quietness, and lays a foundation of innumerable mischiefs to the virtuous and innocent."

Another argument for unlimited clemency, is, that it shews a courageous temper; 'Clemency is likewise an argument of fearlessness; whereas cruelty not only betrays a weak, abject, depraved spirit, but also is for the most part a certain sign of cowardice. (p. 19.) He had a truly great soul, and such will always disdain the coward's virtue, which is fear; and the consequence of it, which is revenge.' (p. 27.) This panegyric on clemency, when it is governed by reason, is likewise very right; but it may so happen, that the putting of laws in execution against traitors to their country, may be the argument of fearlessness, when our governors are told that they dare not do it; and such methods may be made use of to extort pardons, as would make it look like cowardice to grant them. In this last case the author should have remembered his own words, that 'then only mercy is meritorious when it is voluntary, and not extorted by the necessity of affairs. (p. 13.) Besides, the author should have considered, that another argument which he makes use of for his clemency, are the resentments that may arise from the execution of a rebel: an argument adapted to a cowardly, not a fearless temper. This he infers from the disposition of 'the friends, well-wishers, or associates of the sufferers.' (p. 4.) 'Resentment will inflame some; in others compassion will, by degrees, rise into resentment. This will naturally beget a disposition to overturn what they dislike, and then there will want only a fair opportunity.' (p. 12.) This

argument, like most of the others, pleads equally for malefactors of all kinds, whom the government can never bring to justice, without disobliging their friends, well-wishers, or associates. But, I believe, if the author would converse with any friend, well-wisher, or associate of these sufferers, he would find them rather deterred from their practices by their sufferings, than disposed to rise in a new rebellion to revenge them. A government must be in a very weak and melancholy condition, that is not armed with a sufficient power for its own defence against the resentment of its enemies, and is afraid of being overturned if it does justice on those who attempt it. But I am afraid the main reason, why these friends, well-wishers, and associates, are against punishing any of the rebels, is that which must be an argument with every wise governor for doing justice upon some of them; namely, that it is a likely means to come at the bottom of this conspiracy, and to detect those who have been the private abettors of it, and who are still at work in the same design; if we give credit to the suggestions of our malecontents themselves, who labour to make us believe that there is still life in this wicked project.

I am wonderfully surprised to see another argument made use of for a general pardon, which might have been urged more properly for a general execution. The words are these: 'The generality will never be brought to believe, but that those who suffer only for treason have very hard measure, nor can you with all your severity, undeceive them of their error.' If the generality of the English have such a favourable opinion of treason, nothing can so well cure them of an error so fatal to their country, as the punishment of those who are guilty of it. It is evident, that a general impunity would confirm them in such an opinion: for the vulgar will never be brought to believe, that there is a crime where they see no penalty. As it is certain no error can be more destructive to the very being of government, than this, a proper remedy ought to be applied to it: and I would ask this author, Whether upon this occasion, 'The doctrine of making examples of trai-

tors' be not very seasonable; though he declares himself 'not over fond of it.' The way to awaken men's minds to the sense of this guilt, is to let them see, by the sufferings of some who have incurred it, how heinous a crime it is in the eye of the law.

The foregoing answer may be applied, likewise, to another argument of the same nature. 'If the faction be as numerous as is pretended; if the spirit has spread itself over the whole kingdom; if it has mixed with the mass of the people; then certainly all bloody measures will but whet men the more for revenge.' If justice inflicted on a few of the flagrant criminals, with mercy extended to the multitude, may be called 'bloody measures,' they are without doubt absolutely necessary, in case the spirit of faction be thus spread among the mass of the people; who will readily conclude, that if open rebellion goes unpunished, every degree of faction which leads to it must be altogether innocent.

I am come now to another argument for pardoning all the rebels, which is, that it would inspire them all with gratitude, and reduce them to their allegiance. 'It is truly heroic to overcome the hearts of one's enemies; and when it is compassed, the undertaking is truly politic. (p. 8.) He has now a fair opportunity of conquering more enemies by one act of clemency, than the most successful general will be able to do in many campaigns. (p. 9.) Are there not infinite numbers who would become most dutiful upon any fair invitation, upon the least appearance of grace? (p. 13.) Which of the rebels could be ungrateful enough to resist or abuse goodness exemplified in practice, as well as extolled in theory?' (p. 20.) Has not his Majesty then shewn the least appearance of grace in that generous forgiveness which he has already extended to such great numbers of his rebellious subjects, who must have died by the laws of their country, had not his mercy interposed in their behalf? But if the author means (as he doth, through this whole pamphlet by the like expressions) an universal forgiveness, no unprejudiced man can be of his opinion, that it would have had this good

effect. We may see how little the conversion of rebels is to be depended on, when we observe, that several of the leaders in this rebellion were men who had been pardoned for practices of the same nature: and that most of those who have suffered, have avowed their perseverance in their rebellious principles, when they spoke their minds at the place of execution, notwithstanding their professions to the contrary, while they solicited forgiveness. Besides, were pardon extended indifferently to all, which of them would think himself under any particular obligation? Whereas, by that prudent discrimination which his Majesty has made between the offenders of different degrees, he naturally obliges those whom he has considered with so much tenderness, and distinguished as the most proper objects of mercy. In short, those who are pardoned would not have known the value of grace, if none had felt the effects of justice.

I must not omit another reason which the author makes use of against punishments: 'Because,' he says, 'those very means, or the apprehensions of them, have brought things to the pass in which they are, and consequently will reduce them from bad to worse.' (p. 10.) And afterwards, 'This growth of disaffection is in a great measure owing to the groundless jealousies men entertained of the present administration, as if they were to expect nothing but cruelty under it.' If our author would have spoken out, and have applied these effects to the real cause, he could ascribe this change of affections among the people to nothing else but the change of the ministry: for we find that a great many persons lost their loyalty with their places; and that their friends have ever since made use of the most base methods to infuse those groundless discontents into the minds of the common people, which have brought so many of them to the brink of destruction, and proved so detrimental to their fellow-subjects. However, this proceeding has shewn how dangerous it would have been for his Majesty to have continued in their places of trust a set of men, some of whom have since actually joined with

the pretender to his crown: while others may be justly suspected never to have been faithful to him in their hearts, or, at least, whose principles are precarious, and visibly conducted by their interest. In a word, if the removal of these persons from their posts has produced such popular commotions, the continuance of them might have produced something much more fatal to their king and country, and have brought about that revolution, which has now been in vain attempted. The condition of a British king would be very poor, indeed, should a party of his subjects threaten him with a rebellion upon his bringing malefactors to justice, or upon his refusing to employ those whom he dares not trust.

I shall only mention another argument against the punishment of any of the rebels, whose executions he represents as very shocking to the people, because they are their countrymen. (p. 12.) And again, 'The quality of the sufferers, their alliances, their characters, their being Englishmen, with a thousand other circumstances, will contribute to breed more ill blood than all the state-chirurgeons can possibly let out.' (p. 12.) The impeached lords, likewise, in the last paragraph of the pamphlet, are recommended to our pity, because they are our countrymen. By this way of reasoning, no man that is a gentleman, or born within the three seas, should be subject to capital punishment. Besides, who can be guilty of rebellion that are not our countrymen? As for the endearing name of Englishmen, which he bestows upon every one of the criminals, he should consider, that a man deservedly cuts himself off from the affections as well as the privileges of that community, which he endeavours to subvert.

These are the several arguments which appear in different forms and expressions through this whole pamphlet, and under which every one that is urged in it may be reduced. There is, indeed, another set of them, derived from the example and authority of great persons, which the author produces in favour of his own scheme. These are William the Conqueror, Henry the

fourth of France, our late King William, King Solomon, and the Pretender. If a man were disposed to draw arguments for severity out of history, how many instances might one find of it among the greatest princes of every nation? but as different princes may act very laudably by different methods in different conjunctures, I cannot think this a conclusive way of reasoning. However, let us examine this set of arguments, and we shall find them no less defective than those above-mentioned.

'One of the greatest of our English monarchs, (says our author,) was William the Conqueror; and he was the greater, because he put to death only one person of quality that we read of, and him after repeated treacheries; yet he was a foreigner, had power sufficient, and did not want provocations to have been more bloody.' (p. 27.) This person of quality was the Earl Waltheof, who being overtaken with wine, engaged in a conspiracy against this monarch, but repenting of it the next morning, repaired to the king, who was then in Normandy, and discovered the whole matter. Notwithstanding which, he was beheaded upon the defeat of the conspiracy, for having but thus far tampered in it. And as for the rest of the conspirators, who rose in an actual rebellion, the king used them with the utmost rigour, he cut off the hands of some, put out the eyes of others, some were hanged upon gibbets, and those who fared the best, were sent into banishment. There are, indeed, the most dreadful examples of severity in this reign: though it must be confessed, that, after the manner of those times, the nobility generally escaped with their lives, though[a] multitudes of them were punished with banishment, perpetual imprisonment, forfeitures, and other great severities: while the poor people, who had been deluded by these their ring-leaders,

[a] This sentence is rendered awkward and involved by a double *though* —"*though* it must be confessed—*though* multitudes of them."—The way to reform it is, to put a full stop at *reign*, and to begin the next sentence thus:—*It must be confessed*, &c.

were executed with the utmost rigour. A partiality which I believe no commoner of England will ever think to be either just or reasonable.

The next instance is Henry the fourth of France, 'who (says our author) so handsomely expressed his tenderness for his people, when, at signing the treaty of Vervins, he said, that by one dash of his pen he had overcome more enemies, than he could ever be able to do with his sword.' Would not an ordinary reader think that this treaty of Vervins was a treaty between Henry the fourth, and a party of his subjects? for otherwise how can it have a place in the present argument? But instead of that, it was a treaty between France and Spain; so that the speech expressed an equal tenderness to the Spaniards and French; as multitudes of either nation must have fallen in that war, had it continued longer. As for this king's treatment of conspirators, (though he is quoted thrice in the pamphlet as an example of clemency) you have an eminent instance of it in his behaviour to the Mareschal de Biron, who had been his old faithful servant, and had contributed more than any one to his advancement to the throne. This Mareschal, upon some discontent, was entered[a] into a conspiracy against his master, and refusing to open the whole secret to the king, he was sent to the Bastile, and there beheaded, notwithstanding he sought for mercy with great importunities, and in the most moving manner. There are other instances in this king's reign, who notwithstanding was remarkable for his clemency, of rebels and conspirators who were hanged, beheaded, or broken alive on the wheel.

The late King William was not disturbed by any rebellion from those who had once submitted to him. But we know he treated the persons concerned in the assassination-plot as so horrid a conspiracy deserved. As for the saying which this author imputes to that monarch, it being a piece of secret history, one doth not

[a] See the note on—*endeavoured*, p. 140, and the judicious remark of the author of—*A Short Introduction to English Grammar*, p. 70, 1767.

know when it was spoken, or what it alluded to, unless the author had been more particular in the account of it.

The author proceeds, in the next place, to no less an authority, than that of Solomon: 'Among all the general observations of the wisest princes we know of, I think there is none holds more universally than, Mercy and truth preserve a king, and his throne is established in mercy.' (p. 18.) If we compare the different sayings of this wise king, which relate to the conduct of princes, we cannot question but that he means by this mercy, that kind of it, which is consistent with reason and government, and by which we hope to see his Majesty's throne established. But our author should consider that the same wise man has said, in another place, that 'an evil man seeketh rebellion, therefore a cruel messenger shall be sent against him.' Accordingly his practice was agreeable to his proverb: no prince having ever given a greater testimony of his abhorrence to undertakings of this treasonable nature. For he dispatched such a cruel messenger as is here mentioned to those who had been engaged in a rebellion many years before he himself was on the throne, and even to his elder brother, upon the bare suspicion that he was projecting so wicked an enterprise.

How the example of the pretender came into this argument, I am at a loss to find out. 'The pretender declared a general pardon to all: and shall our rightful king shew himself less the true father of his people, and afford his pardon to none,' &c. (p. 25.) The pretender's general pardon was to a people who were not in his power; and had he ever reduced them under it, it was only promised to such as immediately joined with him for the recovery of what he called his right. It was such a general pardon as would have been consistent with the execution of more than nine parts in ten of the kingdom.

There is but one more historical argument, which is drawn from King Philip's treatment of the Catalans. 'I think it would not be unseasonable for some men to

recollect what their own notions were of the treatment of the Catalans; how many declamations were made on the barbarity used towards them by King Philip,' &c. (p. 29.) If the author remembers, these declamations, as he calls them, were not made so much on the barbarity used towards them by King Philip, as on the barbarity used towards them by the English government. King Philip might have some colour for treating them as rebels, but we ought to have regarded them as allies; and were obliged, by all the ties of honour, conscience, and public faith, to have sheltered them from those sufferings, which were brought upon them by a firm and inviolable adherence to our interest. However, none can draw into a parallel the cruelties which have been inflicted on that unhappy people, with those few instances of severity which our government has been obliged to exert towards the British rebels. I say, no man would make such a parallel, unless his mind be so blinded with passion and prejudice, as to assert, in the language of this pamphlet, 'That no instances can be produced of the least lenity under the present administration, from the hour it commenced to this day,' (p. 20.) with other astonishing reflections of the same nature, which are contradicted by such innumerable matters of fact, that it would be an affront to a reader's understanding to endeavour to[a] confute them. But to return to the Catalans; 'During the whole course of the war, (says the author,) which ever of them submitted to discretion, were received to mercy.' (p. 22.) This is so far from being truly related, that in the beginning of the war, they were executed without mercy. But when, in conjunction with their allies, they became superior to King Philip's party in strength, and extended their conquests up to the very gates of Madrid, it cannot be supposed the Spanish court would be so infatuated as to persist in their first severities, against an enemy that could make such terrible reprisals. How-

[a] *To endeavour to*] To avoid the two infinitives he might have said —*should I endeavour to confute them.*

ever, when this reason of state ceased, how dreadful was the havoc made among this brave, but unhappy people! The whole kingdom, without any distinction to[a] the many thousands of its innocent inhabitants, was stript of its immunities, and reduced to a state of slavery. Barcelona was filled with executions; and all the patriots of their ancient liberties either beheaded, stowed in dungeons, or condemned to work in the mines of America.

God be thanked, we have a king who punishes with reluctancy, and is averse to such cruelties as were used among the Catalans, as much as to those practised on the persons concerned in Monmouth's rebellion. Our author, indeed, condemns these western assizes in King James's reign. (p. 26.) And it would be well if all those who still adhere to the cause of that unfortunate king, and are clamorous at the proceedings of his present Majesty, would remember, that notwithstanding that rebellion fell very much short of this both in the number and strength of the rebels, and had no tendency either to destroy the national religion, to introduce an arbitrary government, or to subject us to a foreign power; not only the chief of the rebels was beheaded, but even a lady, who had only harboured one of the offenders in her house, was in her extreme old age put to the same kind of death: that about two hundred and thirty were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their limbs dispersed through several parts of the country, and set up as spectacles of terror to their fellow-subjects. It would be too tedious a work to run through the numberless fines, imprisonments, corporal punishments, and transportations, which were then likewise practised as wholesome severities.

We have now seen how fallaciously the author has stated the cause he has undertaken, by supposing that nothing but unlimited mercy, or unlimited punishment, are the methods that can be made use of in our present treatment of the rebels: that he has omitted the middle

[a] *Distinction to*—rather—*distinction of.*

way of proceeding between these two extremes: that this middle way is the method in which his Majesty, like all other wise and good kings, has chosen to proceed: that it is agreeable to the nature of government, religion, and our British constitution: and that every argument which the author has produced from reason and example, would have been a true one, had it been urged for that restrained clemency which his Majesty has exercised: but is a false one, when applied to such a general, undistinguishing mercy as the author would recommend.

Having thus answered that which is the main drift and design of this pamphlet, I shall touch upon those other parts of it, which are interwoven with the arguments, to put men out of humour with the present government.

And here we may observe, that it is our author's method to suppose matters of fact which are not in being, and afterwards to descant upon them. As he is very sensible that the cause will not bear the test of reason, he has indeed every where chosen rather topics for declamation than argument. Thus he entertains us with a laboured invective against a standing army. But what has this to do in the present case? I suppose he would not advise his Majesty to disband his forces while there is an army of rebels in his dominions. I cannot imagine he would think the affections of the people of England a security of the government in such a juncture, were it not at the same time defended with a sufficient body of troops. No prince has ever given a greater instance of his inclinations to rule without a standing army, if we consider, that upon the very first news of the defeat of the rebels, he declared to both houses of parliament, that he had put an immediate stop to the levies which he had begun to raise at their request, and that he would not make use of the power which they had intrusted him with, unless any new preparations of the enemy should make it necessary for our defence. This speech was received with the greatest gratitude by both houses; and it is said, that in the house of commons a

very candid and honourable gentleman (who generally votes with the minority) declared, that he had not heard so gracious a speech from the throne for many years last past.

In another place, he supposes that the government has not endeavoured to gain the applause of the vulgar, by doing something for the church; and very gravely makes excuses for this their pretended neglect. What greater instances could his Majesty have given of his love to the church of England, than those he has exhibited by his most solemn declarations; by his daily example; and by his promotions of the most eminent among the clergy to such vacancies as have happened in his reign? To which we must add, for the honour of his government in this particular, that it has done more for the advantage of the clergy, than those, who are the most zealous for their interest, could have expected in so short a time; which will farther appear, if we reflect upon the valuable and royal donative to one of our universities, and the provision made for those who are to officiate in the fifty new churches. His Majesty is, indeed, a prince of too much magnanimity and truth, to make use of the name of the church for drawing his people into any thing that may be prejudicial to them; for what our author says, to this purpose, redounds as much to the honour of the present administration, as to the disgrace of others. 'Nay, I wish with all my soul they had stooped a little *ad captum vulgi*, to take in those shallow fluttering hearts, which are to be caught by any thing baited with the name of church.' (p. 11.)

Again; the author asks, 'Whether terror is to become the only national principle?' with other questions of the same nature: and in several parts of his book, harangues very plentifully against such a notion. Where he talks in generals upon this topic, there is no question but every whig and tory in the kingdom perfectly agrees with him in what he says. But if he would insinuate, as he seems to do in several places, that there should be no impressions of awe upon the

mind of a subject, and that a government should not create terror in those who are disposed to do ill, as well as encourage those that do their duty: in short, if he is for an entire exclusion of that principle of fear which is supposed to have some influence in every law, he opposes himself to the form of every government in the world, and to the common sense of mankind.

The artifice of this author in starting objections to the friends of the government, and the foolish answers which he supposes they return to them, is so very visible, that every one sees they are designed rather to divert his reader, than to instruct him.

I have now examined this whole pamphlet, which, indeed, is written with a great deal of art, and as much argument as the cause would bear: and after having stated the true notion of clemency, mercy, compassion, good-nature, humanity, or whatever else it may be called, so far as it is consistent with wisdom, and the good of mankind, or, in other words, so far as it is a moral virtue, I shall readily concur with the author in the highest panegyrics that he has bestowed upon it. As, likewise, I heartily join with him in every thing he has said against justice, if it includes, as his pamphlet supposes, the extirpation of every criminal, and is not exercised with a much greater mixture of clemency than rigour. Mercy, in the true sense of the word, is that virtue by which a prince approaches nearest to him, whom he represents; and whilst he is neither remiss nor extreme to animadvert upon those who offend him, that logic will hold true of him which is applied to the great Judge of all the earth; 'With thee there is mercy, therefore shalt thou be feared.'[a]

[a] The reasoning, in this long paper, is close and solid; and the expression, generally, what it ought to be, pure and perspicuous, but unadorned.

No. 32. MONDAY, APRIL 9.

Heu miseræ cives! non hostem, inimicaque castra
Argivum; vestras spes uritis———

VIRG.

I QUESTION not but the British ladies are very well pleased with the compliment I have paid them in the course of my papers, by regarding them, not only as the most amiable, but as the most important part of our community. They ought, indeed, to resent the treatment they have met with from other authors, who have never troubled their heads about them; but addressed all their arguments to the male half of their fellow-subjects, and taken it for granted, that if they could bring these into their measures, the females would of course follow their political mates. The arguments they have made use of, are like Hudibras's spur, which he applied to one side of his horse, as not doubting but the other would keep pace with it. These writers seem to have regarded the fair sex but as the garniture of a nation; and when they consider them as parts of the commonwealth, it is only as they are of use to the consumption of our manufacture. 'Could we persuade our British women (says one of our eminent merchants in a letter to his friend in the country upon the subject of commerce) to clothe themselves in the comely apparel which might be made out of the wool of their own country; and instead of coffee, tea, and chocolate, to delight in those wholesome and palatable liquors which may be extracted from our British simples; they would be of great advantage to trade, and therein to the public weal.'

It is now, however, become necessary to treat our women as members of the body politic; since it is visible, that great numbers of them have of late eloped from their allegiance, and that they do not believe themselves obliged to draw with us, as yoke-fellows in the constitution. They will judge for themselves; look into

the state of the nation with their own eyes; and be no longer led blindfold by a male legislature. A friend of mine was lately complaining to me, that his wife had turned off one of the best cook-maids in England, because the wench had said something to her fellow-servants, which seemed to favour the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act.

When errors and prejudices are thus spread among the sex, it is the hardest thing in the world to root them out. Arguments, which are the only proper means for it, are of little use: they have a very short answer to all reasonings that turn against them, 'make us believe that, if you can;' which is in Latin, if I may upon this occasion be allowed the pedantry of a quotation, *non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris.* I could not but smile at a young university disputant, who was complaining the other day of the unreasonableness of a lady with whom he was engaged in a point of controversy. Being left alone with her, he took the opportunity of pursuing an argument which had been before started in discourse, and put it to her in a syllogism; upon which, as he informed us with some heat, she granted him both the major and the minor, but denied him the conclusion.

The best method, therefore, that can be made use of with these polemical ladies, who are much more easy to be refuted than silenced, is to shew them the ridiculous side of their cause, and to make them laugh at their own politics. It is a kind of ill manners to offer objections to a fine woman; and a man would be out of countenance that should gain the superiority in such a contest. A coquette logician may be rallied, but not contradicted. Those who would make use of solid arguments and strong reasonings to a reader or hearer of so delicate a turn, would be like that foolish people whom Ælian speaks of, that worshipped a fly, and sacrificed an ox to it.

The truth of it is, a man must be of a very disputatious temper, that enters into state-controversies with any of the fair sex. If the malignant be not beautiful,

she cannot do much mischief; and if she is, her arguments will be so enforced by the charms of her person, that her antagonist may be in danger of betraying his own cause. Milton puts this confession into the mouth of our father Adam; who, though he asserts his superiority of reason in his debates with the mother of mankind, adds,

> ———Yet when I approach
> Her loveliness, so absolute she seems,
> And in herself complete; so well to know
> Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
> Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best:
> All higher knowledge in her presence falls
> Degraded, wisdom in discourse with her
> Loses, discountenanced, and like folly shews;
> Authority and reason on her wait———

If there is such a native loveliness in the sex, as to make them victorious even when they are in the wrong, how resistless is their power when they are on the side of truth! And, indeed, it is a peculiar good fortune to the government, that our fair malecontents are so much over-matched in beauty, as well as number, by those who are loyal to their king, and friends to their country.

Every paper, which I have hitherto addressed to our beautiful incendiaries, hath been filled with considerations of a different kind; by which means I have taken care that those, who are enemies to the sex, or to myself, may not accuse me of tautology, or pretend that I attack them with their own weapon. For this reason I shall here lay together a new set of remarks, and observe the several artifices by which the enemies to our establishment do raise such unaccountable passions and prejudices in the minds of our discontented females.

In the first place; it is usual among the most cunning of our adversaries, to represent all the rebels as very handsome men. If the name of a traitor be mentioned, they are very particular in describing his person; and when they are not able to extenuate his treason, commend his shape. This has so good an effect in one of our female audiences, that they represent to themselves

a thousand poor, tall, innocent, fresh-coloured young gentlemen, who are dispersed among the several prisons of Great Britain; and extend their generous compassion towards a multitude of agreeable fellows that never were in being.

Another artifice is, to instil jealousies into their minds, of designs upon the anvil to retrench the privileges of the sex. Some represent the whigs as enemies to Flanders' lace: others had spread a report, that in the late act of parliament for four shillings in the pound upon land, there would be inserted a clause for raising a tax upon pin-money. That the ladies may be the better upon their guard against suggestions of this nature, I shall beg leave to put them in mind of the story of Papirius, the son of a Roman senator. This young gentleman, after having been present in public debates, was usually teased by his mother to inform her of what had passed. In order to deliver himself from this importunity, he told her one day, upon his return from the senate-house, that there had been a motion made for a decree to allow every man two wives. The good lady said nothing; but managed matters so well among the Roman matrons, that the next day they met together in a body before the senate-house, and presented a petition to the fathers against so unreasonable a law. This groundless credulity raised so much raillery upon the petitioners, that we do not find the ladies offered to direct the lawgivers of their country ever after.

There has been another method lately made use of, which has been practised with extraordinary success; I mean the spreading abroad reports of prodigies, which has wonderfully gratified the curiosity, as well as the hopes, of our fair malignants. Their managers turn water into blood for them; frighten them with sea-monsters; make them see armies in the air; and give them their word, the more to ingratiate themselves with them, that they signify nothing less than future slaughter and desolation. The disloyal part of the sex immediately hug themselves at the news of the bloody fountain; look upon these fish as their friends; have great expec-

tations from the clouds; and are very angry with you, if you think they do not all portend ruin to their country.

Secret history and scandal have always had their allurements; and I have in other discourses shewn the great advantage that is made of them in the present ferment among the fair ones.

But the master engine, to overturn the minds of the female world, is the 'danger of the church.' I am not so uncharitable as to think there is any thing in an observation made by several of the whigs, that there is scarce a woman in England who is troubled with the vapours, but is more or less affected with this cry: or, to remark with others, that it is not uttered in any part of the nation with so much bitterness of tongue and heart, as in the districts of Drury-lane. On the contrary, I believe there are many devout and honourable women who are deluded in this point by the artifice of designing men. To these, therefore, I would apply myself, in a more serious manner, and desire them to consider how that laudable piety, which is natural to the sex, is apt to degenerate into a groundless and furious zeal, when it is not kept within the bounds of charity and reason. Female zeal, though proceeding from so good a principle, has been infinitely detrimental to society, and to religion itself. If we may believe the French historians, it often put a stop to the proceedings of their kings, which might have ended in a reformation. For, upon their breaking with the Pope, the queens frequently interposed, and by their importunities reconciled them to the usurpations of the church of Rome. Nay, it was this vicious zeal which gave a remarkable check to the first progress of Christianity, as we find it recorded by a sacred historian in the following passage, which I shall leave to the consideration of my female readers. 'But the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised a persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts.'

No. 33. FRIDAY, APRIL 13.

Nulli adversus magistratus qq. reges gratiores sunt; nec immerito; nullis enim plus præstant quam quibus frui tranquillo otio licet. Itaque hi quibus ad propositum bene vivendi confert securitas publica, necesse est auctorem hujus boni ut parentem colant.

SENEC. EP. 73.

WE find by our public papers, the university of Dublin have lately presented to the Prince of Wales, in a most humble and dutiful manner, their diploma for constituting his Royal Highness chancellor of that learned body; and that the prince received this their offer with the goodness and condescension which is natural to his illustrious house. As the college of Dublin have been long famous for their great learning, they have now given us an instance of their good sense; and it is with pleasure that we find such a disposition in this famous nursery of letters to propagate sound principles, and to act, in its proper sphere, for the honour and dignity of the royal family. We hope that such an example will have its influence on other societies of the same nature; and cannot but rejoice to see the heir of Great Britain vouchsafing to patronise, in so peculiar a manner, that noble seminary, which is, perhaps, at this time training up such persons as may hereafter be ornaments to his reign.

When men of learning are acted thus by a knowledge of the world as well as of books, and shew that their studies naturally inspire them with a love to their king and country; they give a reputation to literature, and convince the world of its usefulness. But when arts and sciences are so perverted, as to dispose men to act in contradiction to the rest of the community, and to set up for a kind of separate republic among themselves, they draw upon them the indignation of the wise, and the contempt of the ignorant.

It has, indeed, been observed, that persons who are very much esteemed for their knowledge and ingenuity

in their private characters, have acted like strangers to mankind, and to the dictates of right reason, when joined together in a body. Like several chemical waters, that are each of them clear and transparent when separate, but ferment into a thick troubled liquor when they are mixed in the same vial.

There is a piece of mythology which bears very hard upon learned men, and which I shall here relate, rather for the delicacy of the satire, than for the justness of the moral. When the city of Athens was finished, we are told that Neptune and Minerva presented themselves as candidates for the guardianship of the place. The Athenians, after a full debate upon the matter, came to an election, and made choice of Minerva. Upon which Neptune, who very much resented the indignity, upbraided them with their stupidity and ignorance, that a maritime town should reject the patronage of him who was the god of the seas, and could defend them against all the attacks of their enemies. He concluded with a curse upon the inhabitants, which was to stick to them and their posterity; namely, 'that they should be all fools.' When Minerva, their tutelary goddess, who presides over arts and sciences, came among them to receive the honour they had conferred upon her, they made heavy complaints of the curse which Neptune had laid upon the city, and begged her, if possible, to take it off. But she told them it was not in her power, for that one deity could not reverse the act of another. 'However,' said she, 'I may alleviate the curse which I cannot remove: it is not possible for me to hinder you from being fools, but I will take care that you shall be learned.'

There is nothing which bodies of learned men should be more careful of, than, by all due methods, to cultivate the favour of the great and powerful. The indulgence of a prince is absolutely necessary to the propagation, the defence, the honour, and support of learning. It naturally creates in men's minds an ambition to distinguish themselves by letters, and multiplies the number of those who are dedicated to the pursuits of

knowledge. It protects them against the violence of brutal men; and gives them opportunities to pursue their studies in a state of peace and tranquillity. It puts the learned in countenance, and gives them a place among the fashionable part of mankind. It distributes rewards, and encourages speculative persons, who have neither opportunity nor a turn of mind to increase their own fortunes, with all the incentives of place, profit, and preferment. On the contrary, nothing is in itself so pernicious to communities of learned men, nor more apprehended by those that wish them well, than the displeasure of their prince, which those may justly expect to feel, who would make use of his favour to his own prejudice, and put in practice all the methods that lie within their power to vilify his person, and distress his government. In both these cases, a learned body is in a more particular manner exposed to the influence of their king, as described by the wisest of men, 'The wrath of a king is as the roaring of a lion; but his favour is as the dew upon the grass.'

We find in our English histories, that the Empress Matilda (who was the great ancestor of his present Majesty, and whose grand-daughter of the same name has a place upon several of the Hanover medals), was particularly favoured by the university of Oxford, and defended in that place; when most parts of the kingdom had revolted against her. Nor is it to be questioned, but an university so famous for learning and sound knowledge, will shew the same zeal for her illustrious descendant, as they will every day discern his Majesty's royal virtues, through those prejudices which have been raised in their minds by artful and designing men. It is with much pleasure we see this great fountain of learning already beginning to run clear, and recovering its natural purity and brightness. None can imagine that a community which is taxed by the worst of its enemies, only for over-straining the notions of loyalty even to bad princes, will fall short of a due allegiance to the best.

When this happy temper of mind is fully established

among them, we may justly hope to see the largest share of his Majesty's favours fall upon that university, which is the greatest, and upon all accounts the most considerable, not only in his dominions, but in all Europe.

I shall conclude this paper with a quotation out of Cambden's History of Queen Elizabeth, who, after having described that queen's reception at Oxford, gives an account of the speech which she made to them at her departure; concluding with a piece of advice to that university. Her counsel was, 'That they would first serve God, not after the curiosity of some, but according to the laws of God and the land; that they would not go before the laws, but follow them; nor dispute whether better might be prescribed, but keep those prescribed already; obey their superiors; and, lastly, embrace one another in brotherly piety and concord.'

No. 34. MONDAY, APRIL 16.

——sævus apertam
In rabiem cæpit verti jocus——

HOR.

IT is very justly, as well as frequently observed, that if our nation be ever ruined, it must be by itself. The parties and divisions which reign among us may several ways bring destruction upon our country, at the same time that our united force would be sufficient to secure us against all the attempts of a foreign enemy. Whatever expedients, therefore, can be found to allay those heats and animosities, which break us into different factions and interests, cannot but be useful to the public, and highly tend to its safety, strength, and reputation.

This dangerous dissension among us discovers itself in all the most indifferent circumstances of life. We keep it up, and cherish it with as much pains, as if it

were a kind of national blessing. It insinuates itself into all our discourses, mixes in our parties of pleasure, has a share in our diversions, and is an ingredient in most of our public entertainments.

I was, not long ago, at the play called Sir Courtly Nice, where, to the eternal reproach of good sense, I found the whole audience had very gravely ranged themselves into two parties, under Hot-head and Testimony. Hot-head was the applauded hero of the tories, and Testimony no less the favourite of the whigs. Each party followed their champion. It was wonderful to see so polite an assembly distinguishing themselves by such extraordinary representatives, and avowing their principles as conformable either to the zeal of Hot-head, or the moderation of Testimony. Thus the two parts which were designed to expose the faults of both sides, and were accordingly received by our ancestors in King Charles the second's reign, meet with a kind of sanction from the applauses which are respectively bestowed on them by their wise posterity. We seem to imagine that they were written as patterns for imitation, not as objects of ridicule.

This humour runs so far, that most of our late comedies owe their success to it. The audience listens after nothing else. I have seen little Dicky place himself, with great approbation, at the head of the tories, for five acts together, and Pinky espouse the interest of the whigs with no less success. I do not find that either party has yet thrown themselves under the patronage of Scaramouch, or that Harlequin has violated that neutrality, which, upon his late arrival in Great Britain, he professed to both parties, and which it is thought he will punctually observe, being allowed on all sides to be a man of honour. It is true, that upon his first appearance, a violent whig tradesman, in the pit, began to compliment him with a clap, as overjoyed to see him mount a ladder, and fancying him to be dressed in a highland plaid.

I question not but my readers will be surprised to find me animadverting on a practice that has been al-

ways favourable to the cause which now prevails. The British theatre was whig even in the worst of times; and in the last reign did not scruple to testify its zeal for the good of our country, by many magnanimous claps in its lower regions, answered with loud huzzas from the upper gallery. This good disposition is so much heightened of late, that the whole neighbourhood of the Drury-lane theatre very often shakes with the loyalty of the audience. It is said that a young author, who very much relies on this prevailing humour, is now writing a farce, to be called A Match out of Newgate, in allusion to the title of a comedy called A Match in Newgate; and that his chief person is a round-shouldered man, with a pretty large nose, and a wide mouth, making his addresses to a lovely black woman, that passes for a peeress of Great Britain. In short, the whole play is built upon the late escape of General Forster, who is supposed, upon the road, to fall in love with my Lord Nithisdale, whom the ingenious author imagines to be still in his riding-hood.

But notwithstanding the good principles of a British audience in this one particular, it were to be wished that every thing should be banished the stage which has a tendency to exasperate men's minds, and inflame that party rage which makes us such a miserable and divided people. And that, in the first place, because such a proceeding as this disappoints the very design of all public diversions and entertainments. The institution of sports and shews was intended, by all governments, to turn off the thoughts of the people from busying themselves in matters of state, which did not belong to them; to reconcile them to one another by the common participations of mirth and pleasure; and to wear out of their minds that rancour which they might have contracted by the interfering views of interest and ambition. It would therefore be for the benefit of every society, that is disturbed by contending factions, to encourage such innocent amusements as may thus disembitter the minds of men, and make them mutually rejoice in the same agreeable satisfactions. When people

are accustomed to sit together with pleasure, it is a step towards reconciliation: but, as we manage matters, our politest assemblies are like boisterous clubs, that meet over a glass of wine, and, before they have done, throw bottles at one another's heads. Instead of multiplying those desirable opportunities, where we may agree in points that are indifferent, we let the spirit of contention into those very methods that are not only foreign to it, but should in their nature dispose us to be friends. This our anger in our mirth is like poison in a perfume, which taints the spirits instead of chearing and refreshing them.

Another manifest inconvenience which arises from this abuse of public entertainments is, that it naturally destroys the taste of an audience. I do not deny, but that several performances have been justly applauded for their wit, which have been written with an eye to this predominant humour of the town; but it is visible even in these, that it is not the excellence, but the application of the sentiment, that has raised applause. An author is very much disappointed to find the best parts of his productions received with indifference, and to see the audience discovering beauties which he never intended. The actors, in the midst of an innocent old play, are often startled with unexpected claps or hisses; and do not know whether they have been talking like good subjects, or have spoken treason. In short, we seem to have such a relish for faction, as to have lost that of wit; and are so used to the bitterness of party rage, that we cannot be gratified with the highest entertainment that has not this kind of seasoning in it. But as no work must expect to live long which draws all its beauty from the colour of the times; so neither can that pleasure be of greater continuance, which arises from the prejudice or malice of its hearers.

To conclude; since the present hatred and violence of parties is so unspeakably pernicious to the community, and none can do a better service to their country than those who use their utmost endeavours to extinguish it, we may reasonably hope, that the more ele-

gant part of the nation will give a good example to the rest; and put an end to so absurd and foolish a practice, which makes our most refined diversions detrimental to the public, and, in a particular manner, destructive of all politeness.

No. 35. FRIDAY, APRIL 20.

Atheniensium res gestæ, sicut ego existumo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur: sed, quia provenere ibi magna scriptorum ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui ea fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis ea potuere extollere præclara ingenia.

SALLUST.

GRATIAN, among his maxims for raising a man to the most consummate character of greatness, advises, first, to perform extraordinary actions; and, in the next place, to secure a good historian. Without the last, he considers the first as thrown away; as, indeed, they are, in a great measure, by such illustrious persons, as make fame and reputation the end of their undertakings. The most shining merit goes down to posterity with disadvantage, when it is not placed by writers in its proper light.

The misfortune is, that there are more instances of men who deserve this kind of immortality, than of authors who are able to bestow it. Our country, which has produced writers of the first figure in every other kind of work, has been very barren in good historians. We have had several who have been able to compile matters of fact, but very few who have been able to digest them with that purity and elegance of style, that nicety and strength of reflection, that subtilty and discernment in the unravelling of a character, and that choice of circumstances for enlivening the whole narration, which we so justly admire in the ancient historians of Greece and Rome, and in some authors of our neighbouring nations.

Those who have succeeded best in works of this kind, are such, who, besides their natural good sense and learning, have themselves been versed in public business, and thereby acquired a thorough knowledge of men and things. It was the advice of the great Duke of Schomberg, to an eminent historian of his acquaintance, who was an ecclesiastic, that he should avoid being too particular in the drawing up of an army, and other circumstances of the day of battle; for that he had always observed most notorious blunders and absurdities committed on that occasion, by such writers as were not conversant in the art of war. We may reasonably expect the like mistakes in every other kind of public matters, recorded by those who have only a distant theory of such affairs. Besides, it is not very probable that men, who have passed all their time in a low and vulgar life, should have a suitable idea of the several beauties and blemishes in the actions or characters of great men. For this reason I find an old law, quoted by the famous Monsieur Bayle, that no person below the dignity of a Roman knight should presume to write an history.

In England there is scarce any one, who has had a tincture of reading or study, that is not apt to fancy himself equal to so great a task; though it is plain, that many of our countrymen, who have tampered in history, frequently shew, that they do not understand the very nature of those transactions which they recount. Nay, nothing is more usual than to see every man, who is versed in any particular way of business, finding fault with several of these authors, so far as they treat of matters within his sphere.

There is a race of men lately sprung up among this sort of writers, whom one cannot reflect upon without indignation as well as contempt. These are Grub-street biographers, who watch for the death of a great man, like so many undertakers, on purpose to make a penny of him. He is no sooner laid in his grave, but he falls into the hands of an historian; who, to swell a volume, ascribes to him works which he never wrote, and actions

which he never performed; celebrates virtues which he was never famous for, and excuses faults which he was never guilty of. They fetch their only authentic records out of Doctors Commons; and when they have got a copy of his last will and testament, they fancy themselves furnished with sufficient materials for his history. This might, indeed, enable them in some measure to write the history of his death; but what can we expect from an author that undertakes to write the life of a great man, who is furnished with no other matters of fact, besides legacies; and instead of being able to tell us what he did, can only tell us what he bequeathed? This manner of exposing the private concerns of families, and sacrificing the secrets of the dead to the curiosity of the living, is one of those licentious practices which might well deserve the animadversion of our government, when it has time to contrive expedients for remedying the many crying abuses of the press. In the mean while, what a poor idea must strangers conceive of those persons, who have been famous among us in their generation, should they form their notions of them from the writings of these our historiographers! What would our posterity think of their illustrious forefathers, should they only see them in such weak and disadvantageous lights! But, to our comfort, works of this nature are so short-lived, that they cannot possibly diminish the memory of those patriots which they are not able to preserve.

The truth of it is, as the lives of great men cannot be written with any tolerable degree of elegance or exactness, within a short space after their decease; so neither is it fit that the history of a person, who has acted among us in a public character, should appear, till envy and friendship are laid asleep, and the prejudice both of his antagonists and adherents be, in some degree, softened and subdued. There is no question but there are several eminent persons in each party, however they may represent one another at present, who will have the same admirers among posterity, and be equally celebrated by those, whose minds will not be distempered by interest,

passion, or partiality. It were happy for us, could we prevail upon ourselves to imagine, that one, who differs from us in opinion, may possibly be an honest man; and that we might do the same justice to one another, which will be done us hereafter by those who shall make their appearance in the world, when this generation is no more. But in our present miserable and divided condition, how just soever a man's pretensions may be to a great or blameless reputation, he must expect his share of obloquy and reproach; and, even with regard to his posthumous character, content himself with such a kind of consideration, as induced the famous Sir Francis Bacon, after having bequeathed his soul to God, and his body to the earth, to leave his fame to foreign nations; and after some years, to his own country.

No. 36. MONDAY, APRIL 23.

———*Illa se jactet in aula.*

VIRG.

AMONG all the paradoxes in politics which have been advanced by some among us, there is none so absurd and shocking to the most ordinary understanding, as that it is possible for Great Britain to be quietly governed by a Popish sovereign. King Henry the fourth found it impractible for a Protestant to reign even in France, notwithstanding the reformed religion does not engage a prince to the persecution of any other; and notwithstanding the authority of the sovereign in that country is more able to support itself, and command the obedience of the people, than in any other European monarchy. We are convinced by the experience of our own times, that our constitution is not able to bear a Popish prince at the head of it. King James the second was endowed with many royal virtues, and might have made a nation of Roman Catholics happy under his

administration. The grievances we suffered in his reign proceeded purely from his religion: but they were such as made the whole body of the nobility, clergy, and commonalty, rise up as one man against him, and oblige him to quit the throne of his ancestors. The truth of it is, we have only the vices of a Protestant prince to fear, and may be made happy by his virtues: but in a Popish prince we have no chance for our prosperity; his very piety obliges him to our destruction; and in proportion as he is more religious, he becomes more insupportable. One would wonder, therefore, to find many who call themselves Protestants, favouring the pretensions of a person who has been bred up in the utmost bitterness and bigotry of the church of Rome; and who, in all probability, within less than a twelvemonth, would be opposed by those very men that are industrious to set him upon the throne, were it possible for so wicked and unnatural an attempt to succeed.

I was some months ago in a company, that diverted themselves with the Declaration which he had then published, and particularly with the date of it, 'In the fourteenth year of our reign.' The company was surprised to find there was a king in Europe who had reigned so long and made such a secret of it. This gave occasion to one of them, who is now in France, to inquire into the history of this remarkable reign, which he has digested into annals, and lately transmitted hither for the perusal of his friends. I have suppressed such personal reflections as are mixed in this short chronicle, as not being to the purpose; and find that the whole history of his regal conduct and exploits may be comprised in the remaining part of this half-sheet.

The history of the Pretender's fourteen years reign digested into annals.

Anno Regni 1°. He made choice of his ministry, the first of whom was his confessor. This was a person recommended by the society of Jesuits, who represented him as one very proper to guide the conscience of a

king, that hoped to rule over an island which is not within the pale of the church. He then proceeded to name the president of his council, his secretaries of state, and gave away a very honourable sinecure to his principal favourite, by constituting him his lord-high-treasurer. He likewise signed a dormant commission for another to be his high-admiral, with orders to produce it whenever he had sea-room for his employment.

Anno Regni 2°. He perfected himself in the minuet step.

Anno Regni 3°. He grew half a foot.

Anno Regni 4°. He wrote a letter to the Pope, desiring him to be as kind to him as his predecessor had been, who was his godfather. In the same year he ordered the lord high-treasurer to pay off the debts of the crown, which had been contracted since his accession to the throne; particularly, a milk-score of three years standing.

Anno Regni 5°. He very much improved himself in all princely learning, having read over the legends of the saints, with the history of those several martyrs in England, who had attempted to blow up a whole parliament of heretics.

Anno Regni 6°. He applied himself to the arts of government with more than ordinary diligence; took a plan of the Bastile with his own hand; visited the galleys; and studied the edicts of his great patron Louis XIV.

Anno Regni 7°. Being now grown up to years of maturity, he resolved to seek adventures; but was very much divided in his mind, whether he should make an expedition to Scotland, or a pilgrimage to Loretto; being taught to look upon the latter in a religious sense, as the place of his nativity. At length he resolved upon his Scotch expedition; and, as the first exertion of that royal authority, which he was going to assume, he knighted himself. After a short piece of errantry upon the seas, he got safe to Dunkirk, where he paid his devotions to St. Anthony, for having delivered him from the dangers of the seas, and Sir George Byng.

Anno Regni 8°. He made a campaign in Flanders; where, by the help of a telescope, he saw the battle of Oudenarde, and the prince of Hanover's horse shot under him: being posted on a high tower with two French princes of the blood.

Anno Regni 9°. He made a second campaign in Flanders; and upon his return to the French court, gained a great reputation, by his performance in a rigadoon.

Anno Regni 10°. The Pope having heard the fame of these his military achievements, made him the offer of a cardinal's cap; which he was advised not to accept by some of his friends in England.

Anno Regni 11°. He retired to Lorrain, where every morning he made great havoc among the wild-fowl, by the advice, and with the assistance of his privy-council. He is said, this summer, to have shot with his own hands fifty brace of pheasants, and one wild pig; to have set thirty coveys of partridges; and to have hunted down forty brace of hares; to which he might have added as many foxes, had not most of them made their escape, by running out of his friend's dominions, before his dogs could finish the chase. He was particularly animated to these diversions by his ministry, who thought they would not a little recommend him to the good opinion and kind offices of several British fox-hunters.

Anno Regni 12°. He made a visit to the Duke d'Aumont, and passed for a French marquis in a masquerade.

Anno Regni 13°. He visited several convents, and gathered subscriptions from all the well-disposed monks and nuns, to whom he communicated his design of an attempt upon Great Britain.

Anno Regni 14°. He now made great preparations for the invasion of England, and got together vast stores of ammunition, consisting of reliques, gun-powder, and cannon-ball. He received from the Pope a very large contribution, one moiety in money, and the other in indulgences. An Irish priest brought him an authentic tooth of St. Thomas à Becket, and it is thought, was to

have for his reward the archbishopric of Canterbury. Every monastery contributed something; one gave him a thousand pounds; and another as many masses.

This year, containing farther the battles which he fought in Scotland, and the towns which he took, is so fresh in every one's memory, that we shall say no more of it.

No. 37. FRIDAY, APRIL 27.

——quod si
Frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses;
Quo te cœlestis sapientia duceret, ires.
Hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli,
Si patriæ volumus, si nobis vivere cari.

HOR.

IT is a melancholy reflection, that our country, which in times of Popery was called the nation of saints, should now have less appearance of religion in it, than any other neighbouring state or kingdom; whether they be such as continue still immersed in the errors of the church of Rome, or such as are recovered out of them. This is a truth that is obvious to every one, who has been conversant in foreign parts. It was formerly thought dangerous for a young man to travel, lest he should return an atheist to his native country: but at present it is certain, that an Englishman, who has any tolerable degree of reflection, cannot be better awakened to a sense of religion in general, than by observing how the minds of all mankind are set upon this important point; how every nation is serious and attentive to the great business of their being; and that in other countries a man is not out of the fashion, who is bold and open in the profession and practice of all Christian duties.

This decay of piety is by no means to be imputed to the Reformation, which in its first establishment produced its proper fruits, and distinguished the whole age

with shining instances of virtue and morality. If we would trace out the original of that flagrant and avowed impiety, which has prevailed among us for some years, we should find that it owes its rise to that opposite extreme of cant and hypocrisy, which had taken possession of the people's minds in the times of the great rebellion, and of the usurpation that succeeded it. The practices of these men, under the covert of a feigned zeal, made even the appearances of sincere devotion ridiculous and unpopular. The raillery of the wits and courtiers, in King Charles the second's reign, upon every thing which they then called precise, was carried to so great an extravagance, that it almost put Christianity out of countenance. The ridicule grew so strong and licentious, that from this time we may date that remarkable turn in the behaviour of our fashionable Englishmen, that makes them shame-faced in the exercise of those duties which they were sent into the world to perform.

The late cry of the church has been an artifice of the same kind with that made use of by the hypocrites of the last age, and has had as fatal an influence upon religion. If a man would but seriously consider how much greater comfort he would receive in the last moments of his life from a reflection that he has made one virtuous man, than that he has made a thousand tories, we should not see the zeal of so many good men turned off from its proper end, and employed in making such a kind of converts. What satisfaction will it be to an immoral man, at such a time, to think he is a good whig! or to one that is conscious of sedition, perjury, or rebellion, that he dies with the reputation of a high churchman!

But to consider how this cry of the church has corrupted the morals of both parties. Those, who are the loudest in it, regard themselves rather as a political, than a religious communion; and are held together rather by state-notions, than by articles of faith. This fills the minds of weak men, who fall into the snare, with groundless fears and apprehensions, unspeakable

rage towards their fellow-subjects, wrong ideas of persons whom they are not acquainted with, and uncharitable interpretations of those actions of which they are not competent judges. It instils into their minds the utmost virulence and bitterness, instead of that charity, which is the perfection and ornament of religion, and the most indispensable and necessary means for attaining the end of it. In a word, among these mistaken zealots, it sanctifies cruelty and injustice, riots and treason.

The effects which this cry of the church has had on the other party, are no less manifest and deplorable. They see themselves unjustly aspersed by it, and vindicate themselves in terms no less opprobrious, than those by which they are attacked. Their indignation and resentment rises in proportion to the malice of their adversaries. The unthinking part of them are apt to contract an unreasonable aversion even to that ecclesiastical constitution to which they are represented as enemies; and not only to particular persons, but to that order of men in general, which will be always held sacred and honourable, so long as there is reason and religion in the world.

I might mention many other corruptions common to both parties, which naturally flow from this source; and might easily show, upon a full display of them, that this clamour which pretends to be raised[a] for the safety of religion, has almost worn out the very appearance of it; and rendered us not only the most divided, but the most immoral people upon the face of the earth.

When our nation is overflowed with such a deluge of impiety, it must be a great pleasure to find any expedient take place, that has a tendency to recover it out of so dismal a condition. This is one great reason why an honest man may rejoice to see an act so near taking effect, for making elections of members to serve in

[a] *Pretends to be raised*] When we speak of any thing as *pretending*, it is *to do something*, not *to be acted upon*. The impropriety might have been avoided, by saying—*pretends to respect the safety of religion*—or some such thing.

parliament less frequent. I find myself prevented by other writings (which have considered the act now depending, in this particular light) from expatiating upon this subject. I shall only mention two short pieces which I have been just now reading, under the following titles, 'Arguments about the alteration of the triennial elections of Parliament:' and, 'The alteration in the triennial act considered.'

The reasons for this law, as it is necessary for settling his Majesty in his throne; for extinguishing the spirit of rebellion; for procuring foreign alliances; and other advantages of the like nature; carry a great weight with them. But I am particularly pleased with it, as it may compose our unnatural feuds and animosities, revive an honest spirit of industry in the nation, and cut off frequent occasions of brutal rage and intemperance. In short, as it will make us not only a more safe, a more flourishing, and a more happy, but also a more virtuous people.

No. 38. MONDAY, APRIL 30.

——Longum, formosa, vale——

VIRG.

IT is the ambition of the male part of the world to make themselves esteemed, and of the female to make themselves beloved. As this is the last paper which I shall address to my fair readers; I cannot perhaps oblige them more, than by leaving them, as a kind of legacy, a certain secret which seldom fails of procuring this affection, which they are naturally formed both to desire and to obtain. This nostrum is comprised in the following sentence of Seneca, which I shall translate for the service of my country-women. *Ego tibi monstrabo amatorium sine medicamento, sine herbâ, sine ullius veneficæ carmine: si vis amari, ama.* 'I will discover to you a philter that has neither drug, nor simple, nor enchant-

ment in it: love, if you would raise love.' If there be any truth in this discovery, and this be such a specific as the author pretends, there is nothing which makes the sex more unamiable than party-rage. The finest woman, in a transport of fury, loses the use of her face. Instead of charming her beholders, she frights both friend and foe. The latter can never be smitten by so bitter an enemy, nor the former captivated by a nymph, who, upon occasion, can be so very angry. The most endearing of our beautiful fellow-subjects, are those whose minds are the least imbittered with the passions and prejudices of either side; and who discover the native sweetness of the sex in every part of their conversation and behaviour. A lovely woman, who thus flourishes* in her innocence and good humour, amidst that mutual spite and rancour which prevails among her exasperated sisterhood, appears more amiable by the singularity of her character; and may be compared, with Solomon's bride, to 'a lily among thorns.'

A stateswoman is as ridiculous a creature as a cotquean. Each of the sexes should keep within its particular bounds, and content themselves to excel within their respective districts. When Venus complained to Jupiter of the wound which she had received in battle, the father of the gods smiled upon her, and put her in mind, that instead of mixing in a war, which was not her business, she should have been officiating in her proper ministry, and carrying on the delights of marriage. The delicacy of several modern critics has been offended with Homer's Billingsgate warriors; but a scolding hero is, at the worst, a more tolerable character than a bully in petticoats. To which we may add, that the keenest satirist among the ancients, looked upon nothing as a more proper subject of raillery and invective, than a female gladiator.

I am the more disposed to take into consideration these ladies of fire and politics, because it would be

* *Flourishes* in her innocence—*exasperated* sisterhood. These finely chosen words introduce, very happily, the quotation from Solomon.

very monstrous to see feuds and animosities kept up among the soft sex, when they are in so hopeful a way of being composed among the men, by the septennial bill, which is now ready for the royal assent. As this is likely to produce a cessation of arms, till the expiration of the present parliament, among one half of our island, it is very reasonable that the more beautiful moiety of his *Majesty's* subjects should establish a truce among themselves for the same term of years. Or rather it were to be wished, that they would summon together a *kind* of senate, or parliament, of the fairest and wisest of our sister subjects, in order to enact a perpetual neutrality among the sex. They might at least appoint something like a committee, chosen from among the ladies residing in London and Westminster, in order to prepare a bill to be laid before the assembly upon the first opportunity of their meeting. The regulation might be as follows:

"That a committee of toasts be forthwith appointed; to consider the present state of the sex in the British nation.

"That this committee do meet at the house of every respective member of it on her visiting-day; and that every one who comes to it shall have a vote, and a dish of tea.

"That the committee be empowered to send for billet-doux, libels, lampoons, lists of toasts, or any other the like papers and records.

"That it be an instruction to the said committee, to consider of proper ways and methods to reclaim the obstinately opprobrious and virulent; and how to make the ducking-stool more useful."

Being always willing to contribute my assistances to my country-women, I would propose a preamble, setting forth, "That the late civil war among the sex has tended very much to the lessening of that ancient and undoubted authority, which they have claimed over the male part of the island; to the ruin of good housewifery; and to the betraying of many important secrets: that it has produced much bitterness of speech, many

sharp and violent contests, and a great effusion of citron-water: that it has raised animosities in their hearts, and heats in their faces, that it has broke out in their ribbons, and caused unspeakable confusions in their dress: and, above all, that it has introduced a certain frown into the features, and a sourness into the air of our British ladies, to the great damage of their charms, and visible decay of the national beauty."

As for the enacting part of the bill, it may consist of many particulars which will naturally arise from the debates of the tea-table; and must, therefore, be left to the discretion and experience of the committee. Perhaps it might not be amiss to enact, among other things,

"That the discoursing on politics shall be looked upon as dull as[a] talking on the weather.

"That if any man troubles a female assembly with parliament-news, he shall be marked out as a blockhead, or an incendiary.

"That no woman shall henceforth presume to stick a patch upon her forehead, unless it be in the very middle, that is, in the neutral part of it.

"That all fans and snuff-boxes, of what principles soever, shall be called in: and that orders be given to Motteux and Mathers, to deliver out, in exchange for them, such as have no tincture of party in them.

"That when any lady bespeaks a play, she shall take effectual care that the audience be pretty equally checquered with whigs and tories.

"That no woman, of any party, presume to influence the legislature.

"That there be a general amnesty and oblivion of all former hostilities and distinctions, all public and private failings on either side: and that every one who comes into this neutrality within the space of weeks, shall be allowed an ell extraordinary, above the present standard, in the circumference of her petticoat.

[a] *Looked upon as dull*]—Elliptically expressed to avoid the repetition of *as*. The sentence, if drawn out at length, would be, *looked upon as being as dull as.*

"Provided always, nevertheless, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any person or persons, inhabiting and practising within the hundreds of Drury, or to any other of that society in what part soever of the nation in like manner practising and residing; who are still at liberty to rail, calumniate, scold, frown, and pout, as in afore-times, any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding."

No. 39. FRIDAY, MAY 4.

Prodesse quam conspici.

It often happens, that extirpating the love of glory, which is observed to take the deepest root in noble minds, tears up several virtues with it; and that suppressing the desire of fame, is apt to reduce men to a state of indolence and supineness. But when, without any incentive of vanity, a person of great abilities is zealous for the good of mankind; and as solicitous for the concealment, as the performance of illustrious actions; we may be sure that he has something more than ordinary in his composition, and has a heart filled with goodness and magnanimity.

There is not perhaps, in all history, a greater instance of this temper of mind, than what appeared in that excellent person, whose motto I have placed at the head of this paper. He had worn himself out in his application to such studies as made him useful or ornamental to the world, in concerting schemes for the welfare of his country, and in prosecuting such measures as were necessary for making those schemes effectual: but all this was done with a view to the public good that should rise out of these generous endeavours, and not to the fame which should accrue to himself. Let the reputation of the action fall where it would; so* his

* *So*, is here used, as it often is, in our language, in the sense of *provided that*.

country reaped the benefit of it, he was satisfied. As his turn of mind threw off, in a great measure, the oppositions of envy and competition, it enabled him to gain the most vain and impracticable into his designs, and to bring about several great events for the safety and advantage of the public, which must have died in their birth, had he been as desirous of appearing beneficial to mankind, as of being so.

As he was admitted into the secret and most retired thoughts and counsels of his royal master, King William, a great share in the plan of the Protestant succession is universally ascribed to him. And if he did not entirely project the union of the two kingdoms, and the bill of regency, which seem to have been the only methods in human policy, for securing to us so inestimable a blessing, there is none who will deny him to have been the chief conductor in both these glorious works. For posterity are obliged to allow him that praise after his death, which he industriously declined while he was living. His life, indeed, seems* to have been prolonged beyond its natural term, under those indispositions which hung upon the latter part of it, that he might have the satisfaction of seeing the happy settlement take place, which he had proposed to himself as the principal end of all his public labours. Nor was it a small addition to his happiness, that by this means he saw those who had been always his most intimate friends, and who had concerted with him such measures for the guarantee of the Protestant succession, as drew upon them the displeasure of men who were averse to it, advanced to the highest posts of trust and honour under his present Majesty. I believe there are none of these patriots, who will think it a derogation from their merit to have it said, that they received many lights and advantages from their intimacy with my Lord Somers: who had such a general knowledge of affairs, and so tender a concern for his friends, that

* *His life indeed seems*, &c.] A natural reflection, in a panegyric on Lord Somers, and in a paper written professedly in honour of the *happy settlement.*

whatever station they were in, they usually applied to him for his advice in every perplexity of business, and in affairs of the greatest difficulty.

His life was, in every part of it, set off with that graceful modesty and reserve, which made his virtues more beautiful, the more they were cast in such agreeable shades.

His religion was sincere, not ostentatious; and such as inspired him with an universal benevolence towards all his fellow-subjects, not with bitterness against any part of them. He shewed his firm adherence to it as modelled by our national constitution, and was constant to its offices of devotion, both in public and in his family. He appeared a champion for it, with great reputation, in the cause of the seven bishops, at a time when the church was really in danger. To which we may add, that he held a strict friendship and correspondence with the great Archbishop Tillotson, being acted by[a] the same spirit of candour and moderation; and moved rather with pity than indignation towards the persons of those who differed from him in the unessential parts of Christianity.

His great humanity appeared in the minutest circumstances of his conversation. You found it in the benevolence of his aspect, the complacency of his behaviour, and the tone of his voice. His great application to the severer studies of the law, had not infected his temper with any thing positive or litigious. He did not know what it was to wrangle on indifferent points, to triumph in the superiority of his understanding, or to be supercilious on the side of truth. He joined the greatest delicacy of good-breeding to the greatest strength of reason. By approving the sentiments of a person, with whom he conversed, in such particulars as were just, he won him over from those points in which he was mistaken; and had so agreeable a way of conveying knowledge, that whoever conferred with him

[a] *Being acted by*] We should now say, *being actuated with.* Besides, I doubt whether it be right to give to the neutral verb, *act*, a [redacted] signification.

grew the wiser, without perceiving that he had been instructed. We may probably ascribe to this masterly and engaging manner of conversation, the great esteem which he had gained with the late queen, while she pursued those measures which had carried the British nation to the highest pitch of glory; notwithstanding she had entertained many unreasonable prejudices against him, before she was acquainted with his personal worth and behaviour.

As in his political capacity we have before seen how much he contributed to the establishment of the Protestant interest, and the good of his native country, he was always true to these great ends. His character was uniform and consistent with itself, and his whole conduct of a piece. His principles were founded in reason, and supported by virtue; and therefore did not lie at the mercy of ambition, avarice, or resentment. His notions were no less steady and unshaken, than just and upright. In a word, he concluded his course among the same well-chosen friendships and alliances, with which he began it.

This great man was not more conspicuous as a patriot and a statesman, than as a person of universal knowledge and learning. As by dividing his time between the public scenes of business, and the private retirements of life, he took care to keep up both the great and good man; so by the same means he accomplished himself not only in the knowledge of men and things, but in the skill of the most refined arts and sciences. That unwearied diligence, which followed him through all the stages of his life, gave him such a thorough insight into the laws of the land, that he passed for one of the greatest masters of his profession, at his first appearance in it. Though he made a regular progress through the several honours of the long robe, he was always looked upon as one who deserved a superior station to that he was possessed of; till he arrived at the highest dignity to which those studies could advance him.

He enjoyed in the highest perfection two talents,

which do not often meet in the same person, the greatest strength of good sense, and the most exquisite taste of politeness. Without the first, learning is but an incumbrance; and without the last, is ungraceful. My Lord Somers was master of these two qualifications in so eminent a degree, that all the parts of knowledge appeared in him with such an additional strength and beauty, as they want in the possession of others. If he delivered his opinion of a piece of poetry, a statue, or a picture, there was something so just and delicate in his observations, as naturally produced pleasure and assent in those who heard him.

His solidity and elegance, improved by the reading of the finest authors, both of the learned and modern languages, discovered itself in all his productions. His oratory was masculine and persuasive, free from every thing trivial and affected. His style in writing was chaste and pure, but at the same time full of spirit and politeness; and fit to convey the most intricate business to the understanding of the reader, with the utmost clearness and perspicuity. And here it is to be lamented, that this extraordinary person, out of his natural aversion to vain-glory, wrote several pieces as well as performed several actions, which he did not assume the honour of: though at the same time so many works of this nature have appeared, which every one has ascribed to him, that I believe no author of the greatest eminence would deny my Lord Somers to have been the best writer of the age in which he lived.

This noble lord, for the great extent of his knowledge and capacity, has been often compared with the Lord Verulam, who had also been chancellor of England. But the conduct of these extraordinary persons, under the same circumstances, was vastly different. They were both impeached by a House of Commons. One of them, as he had given just occasion for it, sunk under it; and was reduced to such an abject submission, as very much diminished the lustre of so exalted a character: but my Lord Somers was too well fortified [illegible] integrity to fear the impotence of an attempt

upon his reputation; and though his accusers would gladly have dropped their impeachment, he was instant with them for the prosecution of it, and would not let that matter rest till it was brought to an issue. For the same virtue and greatness of mind which gave him a disregard of fame, made him impatient of an undeserved reproach.

There is no question but this wonderful man will make one of the most distinguished figures in the history of the present age; but we cannot expect that his merit will shine out in its proper light, since he wrote many things which are not published in his name; was at the bottom of many excellent counsels, in which he did not appear; did offices of friendship to many persons, who knew not from whom they were derived; and performed great services to his country, the glory of which was transferred to others: in short, since he made it his endeavour rather to do worthy actions, than to gain an illustrious character.

No. 40. MONDAY, MAY 7.

Urit enim fulgore suo qui prægravat artes
Infra se positas: extinctus amabitur idem.

HOR.

IT requires no small degree of resolution to be an author, in a country so facetious and satirical as this of Great Britain. Such a one raises a kind of alarm among his fellow-subjects, and by pretending to distinguish himself from the herd, becomes a mark of public censure, and sometimes a standing object of raillery and ridicule. Writing is, indeed, a provocation to the envious, and an affront to the ignorant. How often do we see a person, whose intentions are visibly to do good by the works which he publishes, treated in as scurrilous a manner, as if he were an enemy to mankind?

All the little scramblers after fame fall upon him, publish every blot in his life, depend upon hearsay to defame him, and have recourse to their own invention, rather than suffer him to erect himself into an author with impunity. Even those who write on the most indifferent subjects, and are conversant only in works of taste, are looked upon as men that make a kind of insult upon society,[a] and ought to be humbled as disturbers of the public tranquillity. Not only the dull and the malicious, which make a formidable party in our island, but the whole fraternity of writers rise up in arms against every new intruder into the world of fame; and, a thousand to one,[b] before they have done, prove him not only to be a fool, but a knave. Successful authors do what they can to exclude a competitor; while the unsuccessful, with as much eagerness, lay in their claim to him as a brother. This natural antipathy to a man who breaks his ranks, and endeavours to signalize his parts in the world, has, very probably, hindered many persons from making their appearance in print, who might have enriched our country with better productions, in all kinds, than any that are now extant. The truth of it is, the active part of mankind, as they do most for the good of their contemporaries, very deservedly gain the greatest share in their applauses; whilst men of speculative endowments, who employ their talents in writing, as they may equally benefit or amuse succeeding ages, have, generally, the greatest share in the admiration of posterity. Both good and bad writers may receive great satisfaction from the prospects of futurity; as, in after-ages, the former will be remembered, and the latter forgotten.

Among all sets of authors, there are none who draw upon themselves more displeasure, than those who deal in political matters, which indeed is very often too justly incurred, considering that spirit of rancour and virulence

[a] *Make a kind of insult upon society,*] *To make an insult* is not very exact English. He might have said, *as men that offer an insult to society*, or, *as men that make a kind of assault upon society.*

[b] *A thousand to one*—a familiar phrase, for, *most probably.*

with which works of this nature generally abound. These are not only regarded as authors, but as partisans, and are sure to exasperate at least one half of their readers. Other writers offend only the stupid or jealous among their countrymen; but these, let their cause be never so[a] just, must expect to irritate a supernumerary party of the self-interested, prejudiced, and ambitious. They may, however, comfort themselves with considering, that if they gain any unjust reproach from one side, they generally acquire more praise than they deserve from the other; and that writings of this kind, if conducted with candour and impartiality, have a more particular tendency to the good of their country, and of the present age, than any other compositions whatsoever.

To consider an author farther, as the subject of obloquy and detraction. We may observe with what pleasure a work is received by the invidious part of mankind, in which a writer falls short of himself, and does not answer the character which he has acquired by his former productions. It is a fine simile in one of Mr. Congreve's prologues, which compares a writer to a buttering gamester, that stakes all his winnings upon every cast: so that if he loses the last throw, he is sure to be undone. It would be well for all authors, if, like that gentleman,[b] they knew when to give over, and to desist from any farther pursuits after fame, whilst they are in the full possession of it. On the other hand, there is not a more melancholy object in the learned world, than a man who has written himself down. As the public is more disposed to censure than to praise,

[a] *Never so*] We now say—*ever so*. The other form, *never so*, seems to have a secret reference to an *opposition* conceived in the writer's or speaker's mind, but not explicitly declared, as, if we should complete the sentence, thus—*let their cause be* [not bad, but] *ever so just*; i. e. however just.

[b] Mr. Congreve was a fashionable writer in his time; and Mr. Addison, who had a friendship with him, speaks of him, as every body else did. He had, indeed, a great deal of wit; but a man must have a furious passion for it, or very little taste, that can read his comedies, on which his reputation was founded, with pleasure, or even patience.

his readers will ridicule him for his last works, when they have forgot to applaud those which preceded them. In this case, where a man has lost his spirit by old age and infirmity, one could wish that his friends and relations would keep him from the use of pen, ink, and paper, if he is not to be reclaimed by any other methods.

The author, indeed, often grows old before the man, especially if he treats on subjects of invention, or such as arise from reflections upon human nature; for, in this case, neither his own strength of mind, nor those parts of life which are commonly unobserved, will furnish him with sufficient materials to be at the same time both pleasing and voluminous. We find, even in the outward dress of poetry, that men, who write much without taking breath, very often return to the same phrases and forms of expression, as well as to the same manner of thinking. Authors, who have thus drawn off the spirit of their thoughts, should lie still for some time, till their minds have gathered fresh strength, and by reading, reflection, and conversation, laid in a new stock of elegancies, sentiments, and images of nature. The soil, that is worn with too frequent culture, must lie fallow for a while, till it has recruited its exhausted salts, and again enriched itself by the ventilations of the air, the dews of heaven, and the kindly influences of the sun.

For my own part, notwithstanding this general malevolence towards those who communicate their thoughts in print, I cannot but look with a friendly regard on such as do it, provided there is no tendency in their writings to vice and profaneness. If the thoughts of such authors have nothing in them, they, at least, do no harm, and shew an honest industry, and a good intention in the composer. If they teach me any thing I did not know before, I cannot but look upon myself as obliged to the writer, and consider him as my particular benefactor, if he conveys to me one of the greatest gifts that is in the power of man to bestow, an improvement of my understanding, an innocent amusement, or an

incentive to some moral virtue. Were not men of abilities thus communicative, their wisdom would be in a great measure useless, and their experience uninstructive. There would be no business in solitude, nor proper relaxations in business. By these assistances, the retired man lives in the world, if not above it; passion is composed; thought hindered from being barren; and the mind from preying upon itself. That esteem, indeed, which is paid to good writers by their posterity, sufficiently shews the merit of persons who are thus employed. Who does not now more admire Cicero as an author, than as a consul of Rome? and does not oftener talk of the celebrated writers of our own country who lived in former ages, than of any other particular persons among their contemporaries and fellow-subjects.

When I consider myself as a British freeholder, I am in a particular manner pleased with the labours of those who have improved our language with the translation of old Latin and Greek authors; and by that means let us into the knowledge of what passed in the famous governments of Greece and Rome. We have already most of their historians in our own tongue: and, what is still more for the honour of our language, it has been taught to express with elegance the greatest of their poets in each nation. The illiterate among our countrymen may learn to judge, from Dryden's Virgil, of the most perfect epic performance: and those parts of Homer, which have already been published by Mr. Pope,* give us reason to think that the Iliad will appear in English with as little disadvantage to that immortal poem.

There is another author, whom I have long wished to see well translated into English, as his work is filled with a spirit of liberty, and more directly tends to raise sentiments of honour and virtue in his reader, than any

* For a comment on this panegyric on Mr. Pope's translation of the Illiad, see the life of Bishop Warburton, prefixed to the new edition of his works, in quarto.

of the poetical writings of antiquity. I mean the Pharsalia of Lucan. This is the only author of consideration among the Latin poets, who was not explained for the use of the Dauphin, for a very obvious reason; because the whole Pharsalia would have been no less than a satire upon the French form of government. The translation of this author is now in the hands of Mr. Rowe,* who has already given the world some admirable specimens of it; and not only kept up the fire of the original, but delivered the sentiments with greater perspicuity, and in a finer turn of phrase and verse.

As undertakings of so difficult a nature require the greatest encouragements, one cannot but rejoice to see those general subscriptions which have been made to them; especially since, if the two works last mentioned are not finished by those masterly hands which are now employed in them, we may despair of seeing them attempted by others.

No. 41. FRIDAY, MAY 11.

Dissentientis conditionibus
Fœdis, et exemplo trahenti
Perniciem veniens in ævum.

HOR.

As the care of our national commerce redounds more to the riches and prosperity of the public, than any other act of government, it is pity that we do not see the state of it marked out in every particular reign with greater distinction and accuracy, than what is usual among our English historians. We may however ob-

* He speaks like a friend, of Mr. Rowe, and, like a whig, of Lucan; but as a critic, we know what his opinion was of the Latin poet, and of his friend's undertaking, when he celebrates the translator for delivering the sentiments of his original, *with greater perspicuity, and in a finer turn of phrase and verse.*

serve, in general, that the best and wisest of our monarchs have not been less industrious to extend their trade, than their dominions; as it manifestly turns in a much higher degree to the welfare of the people, if not to the glory of the sovereign.

The first of our kings who carried our commerce, and consequently our navigation to a very great height, was Edward the third. This victorious prince, by his many excellent laws for the encouragement of trade, enabled his subjects to support him in his many glorious wars upon the continent, and turned the scale so much in favour of our English merchandise, that, by a balance of trade taken in his time, the exported commodities amounted to two hundred and ninety-four thousand pounds, and the imported but to thirty-eight thousand.

Those of his successors, under whose regulations our trade flourished most, were Henry the seventh, and Queen Elizabeth. As the first of these was, for his great wisdom, very often styled the English Solomon, he followed the example of that wise king in nothing more, than by advancing the traffic of his people. By this means he reconciled to him the minds of his subjects, strengthened himself in their affections, improved very much the navigation of the kingdom, and repelled the frequent attempts of his enemies.

As for Queen Elizabeth, she had always the trade of her kingdom very much at heart; and we may observe the effects of it through the whole course of her reign, in the love and obedience of her people, as well as in the defeats and disappointments of her enemies.

It is with great pleasure that we see our present sovereign applying his thoughts so successfully to the advancement of our traffic, and considering himself as the king of a trading island. His Majesty has already gained very considerable advantages for his people, and is still employed in concerting schemes, and forming treaties, for retrieving and enlarging our privileges in the world of commerce.

I shall only, in this paper, take notice of the treaty

concluded at Madrid on the fourteenth of December last, 1715; and by comparing it with that concluded at Utrecht on the ninth of December, 1713, shew several particulars in which the treaty made with his present Majesty is more advantageous to Great Britain, than that which was made in the last reign; after this general observation, that it is equally surprising how so bad a treaty came to be made at the end of a glorious and successful war; and how so good a one has been obtained in the beginning of a reign disturbed by such intestine commotions. But we may learn from hence, that the wisdom of a sovereign, and the integrity of his ministers, are more necessary for bringing about works of such consequence for the public good, than any juncture of time, or any other the most favourable circumstance.

We must here premise, that by the treaty concluded at Madrid in 1667, the duties of importation payable upon the manufactures and products of Great Britain, amounted, upon the established valuation in the Spanish book of rates (after the deduction of the gratias), in Andalusia, to $11\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.; in Valentia, to 5 per cent.; and, in Catalonia, to about 7 per cent. or less; and, consequently, upon the whole aforesaid trade, those duties could not exceed 10 per cent. in a medium.

After this short account of the state of our trade with Spain, before the treaty of Utrecht, under the late queen, we must observe, that by the explanatory articles of this last-mentioned treaty, the duties of importation upon the products and manufactures of Great Britain were augmented, in Andalusia, to $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at a medium.

But by the late treaty made with his present Majesty at Madrid, the said duties are again reduced, according to the aforesaid treaty of 1667, and the deduction of the gratias is established as an inviolable law; whereas, before, the gratias of the farmers, particularly, were altogether precarious, and depended entirely upon courtesy.

That the common reader may understand the nature

of these gratias, he must know, that when the King of Spain had laid higher duties upon our English goods than what the merchants were able or willing to comply with, he used to abate a certain part: which indulgence, or abatement, went under the name of a gratia. But when he had farmed out these his customs to several of his subjects, the farmers, in order to draw more merchandise to their respective ports, and thereby to increase their own particular profits, used to make new abatements, or gratias, to the British merchants, endeavouring sometimes to outvy one another in such indulgences, and by that means to get a greater proportion of custom into their own hands.

But to proceed: the duties on exportation may be computed to be raised, by the Utrecht treaty, near as much as the aforesaid duties of importation; whereas, by the treaty made with his present Majesty, they are reduced to their ancient standard.

Complaint having been made, that the Spaniards, after the suspension of arms, had taken several New England and other British ships gathering salt at the island of Tertuga, a very full and just report concerning that affair was laid before her late Majesty, of which I shall give the reader the following extract:

"Your Majesty's subjects have, from the first settlement of the continent of America, had a free access to this island; and have, without interruptions, unless in time of war, used to take what salt they pleased there: and we have proofs of that usage for above fifty years, as appears by certificates of persons who have been employed in that trade.

"It doth not appear, upon the strictest inquiry, that the Spaniards ever inhabited or settled on the said island; nor is it probable they ever did, it being either all barren rock, or dry sand, and having no fresh water or provisions in it.

"We take leave to lay before your Majesty, the consequence of your Majesty's subjects being prohibited to fetch salt at Tertuga; which will in part appear

from the number of ships using that trade, being, as we are informed, one year with another, about a hundred sail.

" The salt carried from thence to New England is used chiefly for curing of fish, which is either cod, scale-fish, or mackrel: the former of which is the principal branch of the returns made from the continent to Great Britain by way of Spain, Portugal, and the Straits, for the woollen and other goods sent from this kingdom thither. Besides which, the scale-fish and mackrel are of such consequence, that the sugar-islands cannot subsist without them, their negroes being chiefly supported by this fish: so that if they were not supplied therewith from New England, (which they cannot be, if your Majesty's subjects are prohibited from getting salt at Tertuga) they would not be able to carry on their sugar-works. This hath been confirmed to us by several considerable planters concerned in those parts.

" Upon the whole, your Majesty's subjects having enjoyed an uninterrupted usage of gathering salt at Tertuga, ever since the first settlement of the continent as aforesaid, we humbly submit to your Majesty the consequence of preserving that usage and right upon which the trade of your Majesty's plantations so much depends."

Notwithstanding it appears from what is above-written, that our sugar-islands were like to suffer considerably for want of fish from New England, no care was taken to have this matter remedied by the explanatory articles, which were posterior to the above-mentioned report.

However, in the third article of the treaty made with his present Majesty, this business is fully settled to our advantage.

The British merchants having had several hardships put upon them at Bilboa, which occasioned the decay of our trade at that place, the said merchants did make and execute, in the year 1700, a treaty of privileges with the magistrates and inhabitants of St. Ander, very

much to the advantage of this kingdom, in order to their removing and settling there: the effect of which was prevented by the death of King Charles the second of Spain, and the war which soon after ensued. This matter, it seems, was slighted or neglected by the managers of the Utrecht treaty: for, by the fourteenth article of that treaty, there is only 'a liberty given to the British subjects to settle and dwell at St. Ander, upon the terms of the ninth and thirtieth articles of the treaty of 1667,' which are general. But no regard was had to the forementioned treaty of privileges in 1700; whereas, by the second article of the treaty now made with his present Majesty, the forementioned treaty of privileges with St. Ander is confirmed and ratified.

Another considerable advantage is, that the French, by the treaty made with his present Majesty, are to pay the same duties at the dry ports, through which they pass by land-carriage, as we pay, upon importation or exportation by sea: which was not provided for by the Utrecht treaty.

By the cedulas annexed to the treaty of 1667, the valuable privileges of having judge-conservators (appointed to make a more speedy and less expensive determination of all controversies arising in trade) was fully established. But by the fifteenth article of Utrecht that privilege was in effect given up. For it is therein only stipulated, 'That in case any other nation have that privilege, we shall in like manner enjoy it.' But by the fifth article of the treaty now made with his present Majesty, it is stipulated, that 'we shall enjoy all the rights, privileges, franchises, exemptions, and immunities whatsoever, which we enjoyed by virtue of the royal cedulas or ordinances by the treaty of 1667.' So that hereby the privilege of judge-conservators is again confirmed to us.

As nothing but the reputation of his Majesty in foreign countries, and of his fixed purposes to pursue the real good of his kingdoms, could bring about treaties of this nature: so it is impossible to reflect with patience on the folly and ingratitude of those men who

labour to disturb him in the midst of these his royal cares, and to misrepresent his generous endeavours for the good of his people.

No. 42. MONDAY, MAY 14.

O fortunatos mercatores!——

Hor.

SEVERAL authors have written on the advantage of trade in general; which is, indeed, so copious a subject, that as it is impossible to exhaust it in a short discourse, so it is very difficult to observe any thing new upon it. I shall, therefore, only consider trade in this paper, as it is absolutely necessary and essential to the safety, strength, and prosperity of our own nation.

In the first place, as we are an island accommodated on all sides with convenient ports, and encompassed with navigable seas, we should be inexcusable, if we did not make these blessings of Providence and advantages of nature turn to their proper account. The most celebrated merchants in the world, and those who make the greatest figure in antiquity, were situated in the little island of Tyre, which, by the prodigious increase of its wealth and strength at sea, did very much influence the most considerable kingdoms and empires on the neighbouring continent, and gave birth to the Carthaginians, who afterwards exceeded all other nations in naval power. The old Tyre was, indeed, seated on the continent, from whence the inhabitants, after having been besieged by the great king of Assyria, for the space of thirteen years, withdrew themselves and their effects into the island of Tyre; where, by the benefit of such a situation, a trading people were enabled to hold out for many ages against the attempts of their enemies, and became the merchants of the world.

Further; as an island, we are accessible on every side; and exposed to perpetual invasions; against which it is impossible to fortify ourselves sufficiently, without such a power at sea, as is not to be kept up, but by a people who flourish in commerce. To which we must add, that our inland towns being destitute of fortifications, it is our indispensable concern to preserve this our naval strength, which is as a general bulwark to the British nation.

Besides; as an island, it has not been thought agreeable to the true British policy to make acquisitions upon the continent. In lieu, therefore, of such an increase of dominion, it is our business to extend to the utmost our trade and navigation. By this means, we reap the advantages of conquest, without violence or injustice; we not only strengthen ourselves, but gain the wealth of our neighbours in an honest way; and, without any act of hostility, lay the several nations of the world under a kind of contribution.

Secondly, Trade is fitted to the nature of our country, as it abounds with a great profusion of commodities of its own growth, very convenient for other countries, and is naturally destitute of many things suited to the exigencies, ornaments, and pleasures of life, which may be fetched from foreign parts. But, that which is more particularly to be remarked, our British products are of such kinds and quantities, as can turn the balance of trade to our advantage, and enable us to sell more to foreigners than we have occasion to buy from them.

To this we must add, that by extending a well-regulated trade, we are as great gainers by the commodities of many other countries, as by those of our own nation; and by supplying foreign markets with the growth and manufactures of the most distant regions, we receive the same profit from them, as if they were the produce of our own island.

Thirdly, We are not a little obliged to trade, as it has been a great means of civilizing our nation, and banishing out of it all the remains of its ancient barbarity.

There are many bitter sayings against islanders in general, representing them as fierce, treacherous, and inhospitable. Those who live on the continent have such opportunities of a frequent intercourse with men of different religions and languages, and who live under different laws and governments, that they become more kind, benevolent, and open-hearted, to their fellow-creatures, than those who are the inhabitants of an island, that hath not such conversations with the rest of the species. Cæsar's observation upon our forefathers is very much to our present purpose; who remarks, that those of them that lived upon the coast or in sea-port towns, were much more civilized, than those who had their dwellings in the inland country, by reason of frequent communications with their neighbours on the continent.

In the last place. Trade is absolutely necessary for us, as our country is very populous. It employs multitudes of hands both by sea and land, and furnishes the poorest of our fellow-subjects with the opportunities of gaining an honest livelihood. The skilful or industrious find their account in it: and many, who have no fixed property in the soil of our country, can make themselves masters of as considerable estates, as those who have the greatest portions of the land descending to them by inheritance.

If what has been often charged upon us by our neighbours has any truth in it, That we are prone to sedition and delight in change, there is no cure more proper for this evil than trade, which thus supplies business to the active, and wealth to the indigent. When men are easy in their circumstances, they are naturally enemies to innovations: and, indeed, we see in the course of our English histories, many of our popular commotions have taken their rise from the decay of some branch of commerce, which created discontents among persons concerned in the manufactures of the kingdom. When men are soured with poverty, and unemployed, they easily give into any prospect of change, which may [redacted] their condition, and cannot make it much worse.

Since, therefore, it is manifest, that the promoting of our trade and commerce is necessary and essential to our security and strength, our peace and prosperity, it is our particular happiness to see a monarch on the throne, who is sensible of the true interest of his kingdoms, and applies himself with so much success to the advancement of our national commerce.

The reader may see, in my last paper, the advantages which his Majesty has gained for us in our Spanish trade. In this, I shall give a short account of those procured for us from the Austrian low countries, by virtue of the twenty-sixth article of the barrier treaty made at Antwerp the fifteenth of November last.

This branch of our trade was regulated by a tariff, or declaration of the duties of import and export, in the year 1670, which was superseded by another made in 1680, that continued 'till this last tariff settled in 1715 with his present Majesty. As for the two former, those who are at the pains of perusing them will find, the tariff of 1670 laid higher duties on several considerable branches of our trade, than that of 1680, but in many particulars was more favourable to us than the latter. Now, by the present tariff of 1715, these duties are fixed and regulated for the future by those which were most favourable in either of the former tariffs, and all our products and manufactures (one only excepted, which I shall name by and by) settled upon rather an easier foot than ever.

Our woollen cloths, being the most profitable branch of our trade into these countries, have, by this means, gained a very considerable advantage. For the tariff of 1680, having laid higher duties upon the finer sorts, and lower duties on ordinary cloth, than what were settled in the tariff of 1670, his Majesty has, by the present treaty, reduced the duties on the finer sorts to the tariff of 1670, and confirmed the duties on ordinary cloth according to the tariff of 1680. Insomuch that this present tariff of 1715, considered with relation to this valuable part of our trade, reduces the duties at least one sixth part, supposing the exportation of all sorts to be equal.

But as there is always a much greater exportation of the ordinary cloth, than of the finer sorts, the reduction of these duties becomes still much more considerable.

We must farther observe, that there had been several innovations made to the detriment of the English merchant since the tariff of 1680; all which innovations are now entirely set aside upon every species of goods, except butter, which is here particularly mentioned, because we cannot be too minute and circumstantial in accounts of this nature. This article, however, is moderated, and is rated in proportion to what has been, and is still to be paid by the Dutch.

As our commerce with the Netherlands is thus settled to the advantage of our British merchants, so is it much to their satisfaction: and if his Majesty, in the several succeeding parts of his reign, (which we hope may be many years prolonged) should advance our commerce in the same proportion as he has already done, we may expect to see it in a more flourishing condition, than under any of his royal ancestors. He seems to place his greatness in the riches and prosperity of his people; and what may we not hope from him in a time of quiet and tranquillity? since, during the late distractions, he has done so much for the advantage our trade, when we could not reasonably expect he should have been able to do any thing.

No. 43. FRIDAY, MAY 18.

Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.

HOR.

ONE would wonder how any person, endowed with the ordinary principles of prudence and humanity, should desire to be king of a country, in which the established religion is directly opposite to that which he himself professes. Were it possible for such a one to accomplish

his designs, his own reason must tell him, there could not be a more uneasy prince, nor a more unhappy people. But how it can enter into the wishes of any private persons to be the subjects of a man, whose faith obliges him to use the most effectual means for extirpating their religion, is altogether incomprehensible, but upon the supposition, that whatever principles they seem to adhere to, their interest, ambition, or revenge, is much more active and predominant in their minds, than the love of their country, or of its national worship.

I have never heard of any particular benefit, which either the Pretender himself, or the favourers of his cause, could promise to the British nation from the success of his pretensions; though the evils which would arise from it, are numberless and evident. These men content themselves with one general assertion, which often appears in their writings, and their discourse; that the kingdom will never be quiet till he is upon the throne. If by this position is meant, that those will never be quiet who would endeavour to place him there, it may possibly have some truth in it; though we hope even these will be reduced to their obedience by the care of their safety, if not by the sense of their duty. But, on the other side, how ineffectual would this strange expedient be, for establishing the public quiet and tranquillity, should it ever take place! for, by way of argument, we may suppose impossibilities. Would that party of men which comprehends the most wealthy, and the most valiant of the kingdom, and which, were the cause put to a trial, would undoubtedly appear the most numerous, (for I am far from thinking all those who are distinguished by the name of tories, to be favourers of the Pretender) can we, I say, suppose these men would live quiet under a reign which they have hitherto opposed, and from which they apprehend such a manifest destruction to their country? Can we suppose our present royal family, who are so powerful in foreign dominions, so strong in their relations and alliances, and so universally supported by the Protestant interest

of Europe, would continue quiet, and not make vigorous and repeated attempts for the recovery of their right, should it ever be wrested out of their hands? Can we imagine that our British clergy would be quiet under a prince, who is zealous for his religion, and obliged by it to subvert those doctrines, which it is their duty to defend and propagate? Nay, would any of those men themselves, who are the champions of this desperate cause, unless such of them as are professed Roman Catholics, or disposed to be so, live quiet under a government which, at the best, would make use of all indirect methods in favour of a religion, that is inconsistent with our laws and liberties, and would impose on us such a yoke, as neither we nor our fathers were able to bear? All the quiet that could be expected from such a reign, must be the result of absolute power on the one hand, and a despicable slavery on the other: and I believe every reasonable man will be of the Roman historian's opinion, that a disturbed liberty is better than a quiet servitude.

There is not, indeed, a greater absurdity than to imagine the quiet of a nation can arise from an establishment, in which the king would be of one communion, and the people of another; especially when the religion of the sovereign carries in it the utmost malignity to that of the subject. If any of our English monarchs might have hoped to reign quietly under such circumstances, it would have been King Charles the second, who was received with all the joy and good-will that are natural to a people, newly rescued from a tyranny which had long oppressed them in several shapes. But this monarch was too wise to own himself a Roman Catholic, even in that juncture of time; or to imagine it practicable for an avowed Popish prince to govern a Protestant people. His brother tried the experiment, and every one knows the success of it.

As speculations are best supported by facts, I shall add to these domestic examples one or two parallel instances out of the Swedish history, which may be sufficient to shew us, that a scheme of government is im-

practicable in which the head does not agree with the body, in that point, which is of the greatest concern to reasonable creatures. Sweden is the only Protestant kingdom in Europe besides this of Great Britain, which has had the misfortune to see Popish princes upon the throne; and we find that they behaved themselves as we did, and as it is natural for men to do, upon the same occasion. Their King Sigismond, having, contrary to the inclinations of his people, endeavoured, by several clandestine methods, to promote the Roman Catholic religion among his subjects, and shewn several marks of favour to their priests and jesuits, was, after a very short reign, deposed by the states of that kingdom, being represented as one who could neither be held by oaths nor promises, and over-ruled by the influence of his religion, which dispenses with the violation of the most sacred engagements that are opposite to its interests. The states, to shew farther their apprehensions of Popery, and how incompatible they thought the principles of the church of Rome in a sovereign were with those of the reformed religion in his subjects, agreed that his son should succeed to the throne, provided he were brought up a Protestant. This the father seemingly complied with; but afterwards refusing to give him such an education, the son was likewise set aside, and for ever excluded from that succession. The famous Queen Christina, daughter to the Great Gustavus, was so sensible of those troubles which would accrue both to herself and her people, should she avow the Roman Catholic religion while she was upon the throne of Sweden; that she did not make an open profession of that faith, till she had resigned her crown, and was actually upon her journey to Rome.

In short, if there be any political maxim, which may be depended upon as sure and infallible, this is one: That it is impossible for a nation to be happy, where a people of the reformed religion are governed by a king that is a Papist. Were he, indeed, only a nominal Roman Catholic, there might be a possibility of peace and quiet under such a reign; but if he is sincere in

the principles of his church, he must treat heretical subjects as that church directs him, and knows very well, that he ceases to be religious, when he ceases to be a persecutor.

No. 44. MONDAY, MAY 21.

Multaque præterea variarum monstra ferarum
Centauri in foribus stabulant, scyllæque biformes,
Et centum-geminus Briareus, ac bellua Lernæ
Horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimæra,
Gorgones, Harpyiæque, et forma tricorporis umbræ.
Corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum
Æneas, strictamque aciem venientibus offert.
Et, ni docta comes tenues sine corpore vitas
Admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formæ,
Irruat, et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.

VIRG.

As I was last Friday taking a walk in the park, I saw a country gentleman at the side of Rosamond's pond, pulling a handful of oats out of his pocket, and with a great deal of pleasure, gathering the ducks about him. Upon my coming up to him, who should it be but my friend the fox-hunter, whom I gave some account of in my twenty-second paper! I immediately joined him, and partook of his diversion, till he had not an oat left in his pocket. We then made the tour of the park together, when, after having entertained me with the description of a decoy-pond that lay near his seat in the country, and of a meeting-house that was going to be rebuilt in a neighbouring market-town, he gave me an account of some very odd adventures which he had met with that morning; and which I shall lay together in a short and faithful history, as well as my memory will give me leave.

My friend, who has a natural aversion to London, would never have come up, had not he been subpœnaed to it, as he told me, in order to give his testimony for

one of the rebels, whom he knew to be a very fair sportsman. Having travelled all night, to avoid the inconveniencies of dust and heat, he arrived with his guide, a little after break of day, at Charing-cross; where, to his great surprise, he saw a running footman carried in a chair, followed by a waterman in the same kind of vehicle. He was wondering at the extravagance of their masters, that furnished them with such dresses and accommodations, when, on a sudden, he beheld a chimney-sweeper conveyed after the same manner, with three footmen running before him. During his progress through the Strand, he met with several other figures no less wonderful and surprising. Seeing a great many in rich morning-gowns, he was amazed to find that persons of quality were up so early: and was no less astonished to see many lawyers in their bar-gowns, when he knew by his almanac the term was ended. As he was extremely puzzled and confounded in himself what all this should mean, a hackney-coach chancing to pass by him, four batts[a] popped out their heads all at once, which very much frighted both him and his horse. My friend, who always takes care to cure his horse of such starting fits, spurred him up to the very side of the coach, to the no small diversion of the batts; who, seeing him with his long whip, horse-hair periwig, jockey belt, and coat without sleeves, fancied him to be one of the masqueraders on horseback, and received him with a loud peal of laughter. His mind being full of idle stories, which are spread up and down the nation by the disaffected, he immediately concluded that all the persons he saw in these strange habits were foreigners, and conceived a great indignation against them, for pretending to laugh at an English country-gentleman. But he soon recovered out of his error, by hearing the voices of several of them, and particularly of a shepherdess quarrelling with her coachman, and threatening to break his bones, in very intelligible English,

[a] *Batts*] A sort of *maskers*, so called from their resemblance to these night-birds.

though with a masculine tone. His astonishment still increased upon him, to see a continued procession of harlequins, scaramouches, punchinellos, and a thousand other merry dresses, by which people of quality distinguish their wit from that of the vulgar.

Being now advanced as far as Somerset-house, and observing it to be the great hive whence these chimeras issued forth, from time to time, my friend took his station among a cluster of mob, who were making themselves merry with their betters. The first that came out was a very venerable matron, with a nose and chin that were within a very little of touching one another. My friend, at the first view fancying her to be an old woman of quality, out of his good breeding put off his hat to her, when the person pulling off her mask, to his great surprise, appeared a smock-faced young fellow. His attention was soon taken off from this object, and turned to another that had very hollow eyes and a wrinkled face, which flourished in all the bloom of fifteen. The whiteness of the lily was blended in it with the blush of the rose. He mistook it for a very whimsical kind of mask; but, upon a nearer view, he found that she held her vizard in her hand, and that what he saw was only her natural countenance, touched up with the usual improvements of an aged coquette.

The next who shewed herself was a female quaker, so very pretty, that he could not forbear licking his lips, and saying to the mob about him, 'It is ten thousand pities she is not a church-woman.' The quaker was followed by half a dozen nuns, who filed off one after another up Catharine-street, to their respective convents in Drury-lane.

The 'squire, observing the preciseness of their dress, began now to imagine, after all, that this was a nest of sectaries; for he had often heard that the town was full of them. He was confirmed in this opinion upon seeing a conjurer, whom he guessed to be the holder-forth. However, to satisfy himself, he asked a porter, who stood next him, what religion these people were of? The porter replied, 'They are of no religion; it is a

masquerade.' 'Upon that, (says my friend,) I began to smoke that they were a parcel of mummers;' and being himself one of the quorum in his own county, could not but wonder that none of the Middlesex justices took care to lay some of them by the heels. He was the more provoked in the spirit of magistracy, upon discovering two very unseemly objects: the first was a judge, who rapped out a great oath at his footman; and the other a big-bellied woman, who, upon taking a leap into the coach, miscarried of a cushion. What still gave him greater offence, was a drunken bishop, who reeled from one side of the court to the other, and was very sweet upon an Indian queen. But his worship, in the midst of his austerity, was mollified at the sight of a very lovely milk-maid, whom he began to regard with an eye of mercy, and conceived a particular affection for her, until he found, to his great amazement, that the standers-by suspected her to be a duchess.

I must not conclude this narrative, without mentioning one disaster which happened to my friend on this occasion. Having for his better convenience dismounted, and mixed among the crowd, he found, upon his arrival at the inn, that he had lost his purse and his almanac. And though it is no wonder such a trick should be played him by some of the curious spectators, he cannot beat it out of his head, but that it was a cardinal who picked his pocket, and that this cardinal was a Presbyterian in disguise.

No. 45. FRIDAY, MAY 25.

Nimium risus pretium est si probitatis impendio constat.
QUINTIL.

I HAVE lately read, with much pleasure, the Essays upon several Subjects, published by Sir Richard Blackmore; and though I agree with him in many of his excellent observations, I cannot but take that reasonable freedom, which he himself makes use of with regard to other writers, to dissent from him in some few particulars. In his reflections upon works of wit and humour, he observes how unequal they are to combat vice and folly; and seems to think, that the finest raillery and satire, though directed by these generous views, never reclaimed one vicious man, or made one fool depart from his folly.*

This is a position very hard to be contradicted, because no author knows the number or names of his converts. As for the Tatlers and Spectators, in particular, which are obliged to this ingenious and useful author for the character he has given of them, they were so generally dispersed in single sheets, and have since been printed in so great numbers, that it is to be hoped they have made some proselytes to the interests, if not to the practice of wisdom and virtue, among such a multitude of readers.

I need not remind this learned gentleman, that Socrates, who was the greatest propagator of morality in the heathen world, and a martyr for the unity of the godhead, was so famous for the exercise of this talent among the politest people of antiquity, that he gained the name of (Εἴρων) *the Droll.*

There are very good effects which visibly arose from the above-mentioned performances, and others of the like nature; as, in the first place, they diverted raillery

* I incline to Sir Richard Blackmore's opinion. But such writings may *prevent* vice and folly, which is better than reclaiming them.

from improper objects, and gave a new turn to ridicule, which, for many years, had been exerted on persons and things of a sacred and serious nature. They endeavoured to make mirth instructive; and, if they failed in this great end, they must be allowed, at least, to have made it innocent. If wit and humour begin again to relapse into their former licentiousness, they can never hope for approbation from those who know that raillery is useless when it has no moral under it, and pernicious when it attacks any thing that is either unblameable or praise-worthy. To this we may add, what has been commonly observed, that it is not difficult to be merry on the side of vice, as serious objects are the most capable of ridicule; as the party, which naturally favours such a mirth, is the most numerous; and as there are the most standing jests and patterns for imitation in this kind of writing.

In the next place, such productions of wit and humour, as have a tendency to expose vice and folly, furnish useful diversions to all kinds of readers. The good or prudent man may, by these means, be diverted, without prejudice to his discretion or morality. Raillery, under such regulations, unbends the mind from serious studies, and severer contemplations, without throwing it off from its proper bias. It carries on the same design that is promoted by authors of a graver turn, and only does it in another manner. It also awakens reflection in those who are the most indifferent in the cause of virtue or knowledge, by setting before them the absurdity of such practices as are generally unobserved, by reason of their being common or fashionable: nay, it sometimes catches the dissolute and abandoned before they are aware of it; who are often betrayed to laugh at themselves, and, upon reflection, find, that they are merry at their own expence. I might farther take notice, that by entertainments of this kind a man may be chearful in solitude, and not be forced to seek for company every time he has a mind to be merry.

The last advantage I shall mention from compositions of this nature, when thus restrained, is, that they shew

wisdom and virtue are far from being inconsistent with politeness and good humour. They make morality appear amiable to people of gay dispositions, and refute the common objection against religion, which represents it as only fit for gloomy and melancholy tempers. It was the motto of a bishop, very eminent for his piety and good works, in King Charles the second's reign, *Inservi Deo et lætare*, 'Serve God and be chearful.' Those, therefore, who supply the world with such entertainments of mirth as are instructive, or at least harmless, may be thought to deserve well of mankind; to which I shall only add, that they retrieve the honour of polite learning, and answer those sour enthusiasts who affect to stigmatize the finest and most elegant authors, both ancient and modern, (which they have never read) as dangerous to religion, and destructive of all sound and saving knowledge.

Our nation are such lovers of mirth and humour, that it is impossible for detached papers, which come out on stated days, either to have a general run, or long continuance, if they are not diversified, and enlivened from time to time, with subjects and thoughts accommodated to this taste, which so prevails among our countrymen. No periodical author, who always maintains his gravity, and does not sometimes sacrifice to the graces, must expect to keep in vogue for any considerable time. Political speculations in particular, however just and important, are of so dry and austere a nature, that they will not go down with the public without frequent seasonings of this kind. The work may be well performed, but will never take, if it is not set off with proper scenes and decorations. A mere politician is but a dull companion, and, if he is always wise, is in great danger of being tiresome or ridiculous.

Besides, papers of entertainment are necessary to increase the number of readers, especially among those of different notions and principles; who, by this means, may be betrayed to give you a fair hearing, and to know what you have to say for yourself. I might likewise observe, that in all political writings there is some-

thing that grates upon the mind of the most candid reader, in opinions which are not conformable to his own way of thinking; and that the harshness of reasoning is not a little softened and smoothed by the infusions of mirth and pleasantry.

Political speculations do likewise furnish us with several objects that may very innocently be ridiculed, and which are regarded as such by men of sense in all parties; of this kind are the passions of our stateswomen, and the reasonings of our fox-hunters.

A writer who makes fame the chief end of his endeavours, and would be more desirous of pleasing than of improving his readers, might find an inexhaustible fund of mirth in politics. Scandal and satire are never-failing gratifications to the public. Detraction and obloquy are received with as much eagerness as wit and humour. Should a writer single out particular persons, or point his raillery at any order of men, who, by their profession ought to be exempt from it; should he slander the innocent, or satirize the miserable; or should he, even on the proper subjects of derision, give the full play to his mirth, without regard to decency and good manners; he might be sure of pleasing a great part of his readers, but must be a very ill man, if by such a proceeding he could please himself.

No. 46. MONDAY, MAY 28.

——male nominatis
Parcite verbis:
Hic dies, vere mihi festus, atras
Eximet curas; ego nec tumultum
Nec mori per vim metuam, tenente
Cæsare terras.
Hor.

THE usual salutation to a man upon his birth-day among the ancient Romans was, *Multos et fœlices*; in which they wished him many happy returns of it.

When Augustus celebrated the secular year, which was kept but once in a century, and received the congratulations of his people on that account, an eminent court-wit saluted him in the birth-day form *(Multos et fœlices)* which is recorded as a beautiful turn of compliment, expressing a desire that he might enjoy a happy life of many hundreds of years. This salutation cannot be taxed with flattery, since it was directed to a prince, of whom it is said by a great historian, 'It had been happy for Rome, if he had never been born, or if he had never died.' Had he never been born, Rome would, in all probability, have recovered its former liberty: had he never died, it would have been more happy under his government, than it could have been in the possession of its ancient freedom.

It is our good fortune that our sovereign, whose nativity is celebrated on this day, gives us a prospect, which the Romans wanted under the reign of their Augustus, of his being succeeded by an heir, both to his virtues and his dominions. In the mean time it happens very luckily, for the establishment of a new race of kings upon the British throne, that the first of this royal line has all those high qualifications which are necessary to fix the crown upon his own head, and to transmit it to his posterity. We may, indeed, observe, that every series of kings who have kept up the succession in their respective families, in spite of all pretensions and oppositions formed against them, has been headed by princes famous for valour and wisdom. I need only mention the names of William the Conqueror, Henry the second, Henry the fourth, Edward the fourth, and Henry the seventh. As for King James the first, the founder of the Stuart race, had he been as well turned for the camp as the cabinet, and not confined all his views[a] to the peace and tranquillity of his own reign, his son had not been involved in such fatal troubles and confusions.

[a] Had he *been* as well *turned* for the camp as the cabinet, and *not confined* all his views, &c.] This way of coupling a passive, and active verb together, is not accurate.

Were an honest Briton to wish for a sovereign, who, in the present situation of affairs, would be most capable of advancing our national happiness, what could he desire more than a prince mature in wisdom and experience; renowned for his valour and resolution; successful and fortunate in his undertakings; zealous for the reformed religion; related or allied to all the most considerable Protestant powers of Europe; and blessed with a numerous issue! A failure in any one of these particulars has been the cause of infinite calamities to the British nation; but when they all thus happily concur in the same person, they are as much as can be suggested, even by our wishes, for making us a happy people, so far as the qualifications of a monarch can contribute to it.

I shall not attempt a character of his present Majesty, having already given an imperfect sketch of it in my second paper; but shall chuse rather to observe that cruel treatment which this excellent prince has met with from the tongues and pens of some of his disaffected subjects. The baseness, ingratitude, and injustice of which practice will appear to us, if we consider,

First, that it reflects highly upon the good sense of the British nation, who do not know how to set a just value upon a prince, whose virtues have gained him the universal esteem of foreign countries. Those potentates who, as some may suppose, do not wish well to his affairs, have shewn the greatest respect to his personal character, and testified their readiness to enter into such friendships and alliances as may be advantageous to his people. The northern kings solicit him with impatience to come among them, as the only person capable of settling the several claims and pretensions, which have produced such unspeakable calamities in that part of the world. Two of the most remote and formidable powers of Europe have entertained thoughts of submitting their disputes to his arbitration. Every one knows his ancient subjects had such a long experience of his sovereign virtues, that at

his departure from them his whole people were in tears; which were answered with all those sentiments of humanity, that arise in the heart of a good prince on so moving an occasion. What a figure, therefore, must we make among mankind, if we are the only people of Europe who derogate from his merit, that may be made happy by it: and if, in a kingdom which is grown glorious by the reputation of such a sovereign, there are multitudes who would endeavour to lessen and undervalue it.

In the next place; such a treatment from any part of our fellow-subjects, is by no means answerable to what we receive from his Majesty. His love and regard for our constitution is so remarkable, that, as we are told by those whose office it is to lay the business of the nation before him, it is his first question, upon any matter of the least doubt or difficulty, whether it be in every point according to the laws of the land? He is easy of access to those who desire it, and is so gracious in his behaviour and condescension on such occasions, that none of his subjects retire from his presence without the greatest idea of his wisdom and goodness. His continued application to such public affairs as may conduce to the benefit of his kingdoms, diverts him from those pleasures and entertainments which may be indulged by persons in a lower station, and are pursued with eagerness by princes who have not the care of the public so much at heart. The least return, which we can make to such a sovereign, is that tribute which is always paid by honest men, and is always acceptable to great minds, the praise and approbation that are due to a virtuous and noble character. Common decency forbids opprobrious language, even to a bad prince; and common justice will exact from us, towards a good prince, the same benevolence and humanity with which he treats his subjects. Those who are influenced by duty and gratitude, will rise much higher in all the expressions of affection and respect, and think they can never do too much to advance the glory of a sovereign, who takes so much pains to advance their happiness.

When we have a king, who has gained the reputation of the most unblemished probity and honour, and has been famed, through the whole course of his life, for an inviolable adherence to his promises, we may acquiesce (after his many solemn declarations) in all those measures which it is impossible for us to judge rightly of, unless we were let into such schemes of council and intelligence as produce them; and therefore we should rather turn our thoughts upon the reasonableness of his proceedings, than busy ourselves to form objections against them. The consideration of his Majesty's character should at all times suppress our censure of his conduct: and since we have never yet seen, or heard of any false steps in his behaviour, we ought in justice to think, that he governs himself by his usual rules of wisdom and honour, until we discover something to the contrary.

These considerations ought to reconcile to his Majesty the hearts and tongues of all his people: but as for those who are the obstinate, irreclaimable, professed enemies to our present establishment, we must expect their calumnies will not only continue, but rise against him in proportion as he pursues such measures as are likely to prove successful, and ought to recommend him to his people.

No. 47. FRIDAY, JUNE 1.

———*cessit furor, et rabida ora quierunt.*

VIRG.

I QUESTION not but most of my readers will be very well pleased to hear, that my friend the fox-hunter, of whose arrival in town I gave notice in my forty-fourth paper, is become a convert to the present establishment, and a good subject to King George. The motives to his conversion shall be the subject of this paper, as they may be of use to other persons who

labour under those prejudices and prepossessions, which hung so long upon the mind of my worthy friend. These I had an opportunity of learning the other day, when, at his request, we took a ramble together, to see the curiosities of this great town.

The first circumstance, as he ingenuously confessed to me (while we were in the coach together) which helped to disabuse him, was seeing King Charles I. on horseback, at Charing-Cross; for he was sure that prince could never have kept his seat there, had the stories been true he had heard in the country, that forty one was come about again.

He owned to me that he looked with horror on the new church that is half built in the Strand, as taking it, at first sight, to be half demolished: but upon inquiring of the workmen, was agreeably surprised to find, that instead of pulling it down, they were building it up; and that fifty more were raising[a] in other parts of the town.

To these I must add a third circumstance, which I find had no small share in my friend's conversion. Since his coming to town, he chanced to look into the church of St. Paul, about the middle of sermon-time, where, having first examined the dome, to see if it stood safe, (for the screw-plot still ran in his head) he observed, that the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and city-sword, were a part of the congregation. This sight had the more weight with him, as, by good luck, not above two of that venerable body were fallen a-sleep.

This discourse held us till we came to the Tower; for our first visit was to the lions. My friend, who had a great deal of talk with their keeper, inquired very much after their health, and whether none of them had fallen sick upon the taking of Perth, and the flight of the Pretender? and hearing they were never better in their lives, I found he was extremely startled: for he had learned from his cradle, that the lions in the Tower were

[a] *Were raising*] The verb, *to raise*, is always used transitively: the participle, therefore, cannot be intransitive. It should be—*were rising*.

the best judges of the title of our British kings, and always sympathized with our sovereigns.

After having here satiated our curiosity, we repaired to the Monument, where my fellow-traveller, being a well-breathed man, mounted the ascent with much speed and activity. I was forced to halt so often in this perpendicular march, that, upon my joining him on the top of the pillar, I found he had counted all the steeples and towers which were discernible from this advantageous situation, and was endeavouring to compute the number of acres they stood upon. We were both of us very well pleased with this part of the prospect; but I found he cast an evil eye upon several warehouses, and other buildings, that looked like barns, and seemed capable of receiving great multitudes of people. His heart misgave him that these were so many meeting-houses, but, upon communicating his suspicions to me, I soon made him easy in this particular.

We then turned our eyes upon the river, which gave me an occasion to inspire him with some favourable thoughts of trade and merchandise, that had filled the Thames with such crowds of ships, and covered the shore with such swarms of people.

We descended very leisurely, my friend being careful to count the steps, which he registered in a blank leaf of his new almanac. Upon our coming to the bottom, observing an English inscription upon the basis, he read it over several times, and told me he could scarce believe his own eyes, for that he had often heard from an old attorney, who lived near him in the country, that it was the Presbyterians who burned down the city; whereas, says he, this pillar positively affirms in so many words, that 'the burning of this ancient city was begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the popish faction, in order to the carrying on their horrid plot, for extirpating the Protestant religion, and old English liberty, and introducing popery and slavery.' This account, which he looked upon to be more authentic, than if it had been in print, I found, made a very great impression upon him.

We now took coach again, and made the best of our way for the Royal Exchange, though I found he did not much care to venture himself into the throng of that place; for he told me he had heard they were, generally speaking, republicans, and was afraid of having his pocket picked amongst them. But he soon conceived a better opinion of them, when he spied the statue of King Charles II. standing up in the middle of the crowd, and most of the kings in Baker's Chronicle ranged in order over their heads; from whence he very justly concluded, that an antimonarchical assembly could never chuse such a place to meet in once a day.

To continue this good disposition in my friend, after a short stay at Stock's Market, we drove away directly for the Mews, where he was not a little edified with the sight of those fine sets of horses which have been brought over from Hanover, and with the care that is taken of them. He made many good remarks upon this occasion, and was so pleased with his company, that I had much ado to get him out of the stable.

In our progress to St. James's Park (for that was the end of our journey) he took notice, with great satisfaction, that, contrary to his intelligence in the country, the shops were all open and full of business; that the soldiers walked civilly in the streets; that clergymen, instead of being affronted, had generally the wall given them; and that he had heard the bells ring to prayers from morning to night, in some part of the town or another.*

As he was full of these honest reflections, it happened very luckily for us, that one of the king's coaches passed

* *In some part of the town or another.*] We say—in *some* part or *other*, —and, in *one* part or *another*. The reason seems to be, that the adjective, *some*, is less definitive than *one*, and conveys in it a confused idea of *plurality*, even though the noun to which it is joined, be singular. As here, *some part* is nearly equivalent to *some parts*; the correlative, therefore, is, *other*, that is, *other parts*; while the correlative to *one* part is necessarily *another*, or *one* other. When, *some*, in this form of expression, is followed by *another*, the extent of that adjective is limited by the addition of *one*: as, when we say, *in some one* part of the town, or *another*.

by with the three young princesses in it, whom by an accidental stop we had an opportunity of surveying for some time; my friend was ravished with the beauty, innocence, and sweetness, that appeared in all their faces. He declared several times, that they were the finest children he had ever seen in all his life; and assured me that, before this sight, if any one had told him it had been possible for three such pretty children to have been born out of England, he should never have believed them.

We were now walking together in the Park, and as it is usual for men who are naturally warm and heady, to be transported with the greatest flush of good nature when they are once sweetened; he owned to me very frankly, he had been much imposed upon by those false accounts of things he had heard in the country; and that he would make it his business, upon his return thither, to set his neighbours right, and give them a more just notion of the present state of affairs.

What confirmed my friend in this excellent temper of mind, and gave him an inexpressible satisfaction, was a message he received, as we were walking together, from the prisoner for whom he had given his testimony in his late trial. This person having been condemned for his part in the late rebellion, sent him word that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to reprieve him, with several of his friends, in order, as it was thought, to give them their lives; and that he hoped before he went out of town they should have a chearful meeting, and drink health and prosperity to King George.

No. 48. MONDAY, JUNE 4.

Tu tamen, si habes aliquam spem de Republica, sive desperas; ea para, meditare, cogita, quæ esse in eo cive ac viro debent, qui sit Rempublicam afflictam et oppressam miseris temporibus ac perditis moribus in veterem dignitatem ac libertatem vindicaturus.

CICER.

THE condition of a minister of state is only suited to persons who, out of a love to their king and country, desire rather to be useful to the public than easy to themselves. When a man is posted[a] in such a station, whatever his behaviour may be, he is sure, beside the natural fatigue and trouble of it, to incur the envy of some, and the displeasure of others; as he will have many rivals, whose ambition he cannot satisfy, and many dependants whose wants he cannot provide for. These are misfortunes inseparable from such public employments, in all countries; but there are several others which hang upon this condition of life in our British government, more than any other sovereignty in Europe: as, in the first place, there is no other nation which is so equally divided into two opposite parties, whom it is impossible to please at the same time. Our notions of the public good, with relation both to ourselves and foreigners, are of so different a nature, that those measures which are extolled by one half of the kingdom, are naturally decryed by the other. Besides, that in a British administration, many acts of government are absolutely necessary, in which one of the parties must be favoured and obliged, in opposition to their antagonists. So that the most perfect administration, conducted by the most consummate wisdom and probity, must unavoidably produce opposition, enmity, and defamation, from multitudes who are made happy by it.

Farther, it is peculiarly observed of our nation, that

[a] *Posted*] A vulgar and unauthorized word. He might have said—*placed in*, or, *advanced to*, such a station.

almost every man in it is a politician, and hath a scheme of his own, which he thinks preferable to that of any other person. Whether this may proceed from that spirit of liberty which reigns among us, or from those great numbers of all ranks and conditions, who from time to time are concerned in the British legislature, and by that means are let into the business of the nation, I shall not take upon me to determine. But for this reason it is certain, that a British ministry must expect to meet with many censurers, even in their own party, and ought to be satisfied, if, allowing to every particular man that his private scheme is wisest, they can persuade him that next to his own plan that of the government is the most eligible.

Besides, we have a set of very honest and well meaning gentlemen in England, not to be met with in other countries, who take it for granted they can never be in the wrong, so long as they oppose ministers of state. Those whom they have admired through the whole course of their lives for their honour and integrity, though they still persist to act in their former character, and change nothing but their stations, appear to them in a disadvantageous light, as soon as they are placed upon state eminences. Many of these gentlemen have been used to think there is a kind of slavery in concurring with the measures of great men, and that the good of the country is inconsistent with the inclinations of the court: by the strength of these prejudices, they are apt to fancy a man loses his honesty, from the very moment that he is made the most capable of being useful to the public; and will not consider that it is every whit as honourable to assist a good minister as to oppose a bad one.

In the last place, we may observe, that there are greater numbers of persons who solicit for places, and perhaps are fit for them, in our own country, than in any other. To which we must add, that, by the nature of our constitution, it is in the power of more particular persons in this kingdom, than in any other, to distress the government when they are disobliged. A British

minister must, therefore, expect to see many of those friends and dependants fall off from him, whom he cannot gratify in their demands upon him; since, to use the phrase of a late statesman, who knew very well how to form a party, 'the pasture is not large enough.'

Upon the whole: the condition of a British minister labours under so many difficulties, that we find in almost every reign since the conquest, the chief ministers have been new men, or such as have raised themselves to the greatest posts in the government, from the state of private gentlemen. Several of them neither rose from any conspicuous family, nor left any behind them, being of that class of eminent persons, whom Sir Francis Bacon speaks of, who, like comets or blazing stars, draw upon them the whole attention of the age in which they appear, though nobody knows whence they came, nor where they are lost. Persons of hereditary wealth and title have not been over-forward to engage in so great a scene of cares and perplexities, nor to run all the risks of so dangerous a situation. Nay, many whose greatness and fortune were not made to their hands, and had sufficient qualifications and opportunities of rising to these high posts of trust and honour, have been deterred from such pursuits by the difficulties that attend them, and chose rather to be easy than powerful; or, if I may use the expression, to be carried in the chariot than to drive it.

As the condition of a minister of state in general is subject to many burdens and vexations; and as that of a British minister in particular is involved in several hazards and difficulties peculiar to our own country; so is this high station exposed more than ordinary to such inconveniencies in the present juncture of affairs; first, as it is the beginning of a new establishment among us; and, secondly, as this establishment hath been disturbed by a dangerous rebellion.

If we look back into our English history, we shall always find the first monarch of a new line received with the greatest opposition, and reconciling to himself, by degrees, the duty and affection of his people. The go-

vernment, on such occasions, is always shaken before it settles. The inveteracy of the people's prejudices, and the artifices of domestic enemies, compelled their rulers to make use of all means for reducing them to their allegiance, which perhaps, after all, was brought about rather by time than by policy. When commotions and disturbances are of an extraordinary and unusual nature, the proceedings of the government must be so too. The remedy must be suited to the evil, and I know no juncture more difficult to a minister of state, than such as requires uncommon methods to be made use of, when, at the same time, no other can be made use of than what are prescribed by the known laws of our constitution. Several measures may be absolutely necessary in such a juncture, which may be represented as hard and severe, and would not be proper in a time of public peace and tranquillity. In this case Virgil's excuse, which he puts in the mouth of a fictitious sovereign, upon a complaint of this nature, hath the utmost force of reason and justice on its side.—*Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt.* 'The difficulties that I meet with in the beginning of my reign make such a proceeding necessary.'

In the next place, as this establishment has been disturbed by a dangerous rebellion, the ministry has been involved in many additional and supernumerary difficulties. It is a common remark, that English ministers never fare so well as in a time of war with a foreign power, which diverts the private feuds and animosities of the nation, and turns their efforts upon the common enemy. As a foreign war is favourable to a ministry, a rebellion is no less dangerous; if it succeeds, they are the first persons who must fall a sacrifice to it; if it is defeated, they naturally become odious to all the secret favourers and abettors of it. Every method they make use of for preventing or suppressing it, and for deterring others from the like practices for the future, must be unacceptable and displeasing to the friends, relations, and accomplices of the guilty. In cases where it is thought necessary to make examples, it is the hu-

mour of the multitude to forget the crime, and remember the punishment. However, we have already seen, and still hope to see, so many instances of mercy in his Majesty's government, that our chief ministers have more to fear from the murmurs of their too violent friends, than from the reproaches of their enemies.

No. 49. FRIDAY, JUNE 8.

——— jam nunc sollennes ducere pompas
Ad delubra juvat———

VIRG.

YESTERDAY was set apart as a day of public thanksgiving for the late extraordinary successes, which have secured to us every thing that can be esteemed, and delivered us from every thing that can be apprehended, by a Protestant and a free people. I cannot but observe, upon this occasion, the natural tendency in such a national devotion, to inspire men with sentiments of religious gratitude, and to swell their hearts with inward transports of joy and exultation.

When instances of divine favour are great in themselves, when they are fresh upon the memory, when they are peculiar to a certain country, and commemorated by them in large and solemn assemblies; a man must be of a very cold or degenerate temper, whose heart doth not burn within him in the midst of that praise and adoration, which arises at the same hour in all the different parts of the nation, and from the many thousands of the people.

It is impossible to read of extraordinary and national acts of worship, without being warmed with the description, and feeling some degree of that divine enthusiasm, which spreads itself among a joyful and religious multitude. A part of that exuberant devotion, with which the whole assembly raised and animated one another,

catches a reader at the greatest distance of time, and makes him a kind of sharer in it.

Among all the public solemnities of this nature, there is none in history so glorious as that under the reign of King Solomon, at the dedication of the Temple. Besides the great officers of state, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, all the elders and heads of tribes, with the whole body of the people ranged under them, from one end of the kingdom to the other, were summoned to assist in it. We may guess at the prodigious number of this assembly from the sacrifice on which they feasted, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand sheep, and two hundred and twenty hecatombs of oxen. When this vast congregation was formed into a regular procession to attend the ark of the covenant, the king marched at the head of his people, with hymns and dances, to the new temple, which he had erected for its reception. Josephus tells us, that the Levites sprinkled the way as they passed with the blood of sacrifices, and burned the holy incense in such quantities as refreshed the whole multitude with its odours, and filled all the region about them with perfume. When the ark was deposited under the wings of the cherubims in the holy place, the great consort of praise began. It was enlivened with a hundred and twenty trumpets, assisted with a proportionable number of other kinds of musical instruments, and accompanied with innumerable voices of all the singers of Israel, who were instructed and set apart to religious performances of this kind. As this mighty chorus was extolling their Maker, and exciting the whole nation thus assembled, to the praise of his never-ceasing goodness and mercy, the Shekinah descended: or, to tell it in the more emphatical words of holy writ, 'It came to pass, as the trumpets and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord, and when they lift up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals, and instruments of music, and praised the Lord, saying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever; that then the house was filled with a cloud.' The priests themselves, not able to bear the

awfulness of the appearance, retired into the court of the temple, where the king being placed upon a brazen scaffold, so as to be seen by the whole multitude, blessed the congregation of Israel, and afterwards, spreading forth his hands to Heaven, offered up that divine prayer which is twice recorded at length in Scripture, and has always been looked upon as a composition fit to have proceeded from the wisest of men. He had no sooner finished his prayer, when a flash of fire fell from Heaven and burned up the sacrifice which lay ready upon the altar. The people, whose hearts were gradually moved by the solemnity of the whole proceeding, having been exalted by the religious strains of music, and awed by the appearance of that glory which filled the temple, seeing now the miraculous consumption of the sacrifice, and observing the piety of their king, who lay prostrate before his Maker, 'bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, and worshipped and praised the Lord, saying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.'

What happiness might not such a kingdom promise to itself, where the same elevated spirit of religion ran through the prince, the priests, and the people! But I shall quit this head, to observe that such an uncommon fervour of devotion shewed itself among our own countrymen, and in the persons of three princes, who were the greatest conquerors in our English history. These are Edward the third, his son the Black Prince, and Henry the fifth. As for the first, we are told that, before the famous battle of Cressy, he spent the greatest part of the night in prayer, and in the morning received the sacrament with his son, the chief of his officers, and nobility. The night of that glorious day was no less piously distinguished by the orders, which he gave out to his army, that they should forbear all insulting of their enemies, or boasting of their own valour, and employ their time in returning thanks to the Great Giver of the victory. The Black Prince, before the battle of Poictiers, declared, that his whole confidence was in the Divine assistance; and after that great victory, be-

haved himself in all particulars like a truly Christian conqueror. Eight days successively were appointed by his father in England, for a solemn and public thanksgiving; and when the young prince returned in triumph with a king of France as his prisoner, the pomp of the day consisted chiefly in extraordinary processions, and acts of devotion. The behaviour of the Black Prince, after a battle in Spain, whereby he restored the King of Castile to his dominions, was no less remarkable. When that king, transported with his success, flung himself upon his knees to thank him, the generous prince ran to him, and, taking him by the hand, told him it was not he who could lay any claim to his gratitude, but desired they might go to the altar together, and jointly return their thanks to whom only it was due.*

Henry the fifth, (who, at the beginning of his reign, made a public prayer in the presence of his Lords and Commons, that he might be cut off by an immediate death, if Providence foresaw he would not prove a just and good governor, and promote the welfare of his people) manifestly derived his courage from his piety, and was scrupulously careful not to ascribe the success of it to himself. When he came within sight of that prodigious army, which offered him battle at Agincourt, he ordered all his cavalry to dismount, and, with the rest of his forces, to implore upon their knees a blessing on their undertaking. In a noble speech, which he made to his soldiers immediately before the first onset, he took notice of a very remarkable circumstance, namely, that this very day of battle was the day appointed in his own kingdom, to offer up public devotions for the prosperity of his arms; and therefore bid them not doubt of victory, since, at the same time they were fighting in the field, all the people of England were lifting up their hands to heaven for their success. Upon the close of

* *To whom only it was due.*] Certainly better than—*to* him *to* whom it was due—the sense is clear enough, and the ellipsis fully justified by the ear.

that memorable day, in which the king had performed wonders with his own hand, he ordered the hundred and fifteenth Psalm to be repeated in the midst of his victorious army, and at the words, 'Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name be the praise,' he himself, with his whole host, fell to the earth upon their faces, ascribing to Omnipotence the whole glory of so great an action.

I shall conclude this paper with a reflection, which naturally rises out of it. As there is nothing more beautiful in the sight of God and man, than a king and his people concurring in such extraordinary acts of devotion, one cannot suppose a greater contradiction and absurdity in a government, than where the king is of one religion and the people of another. What harmony or correspondence can be expected between a sovereign and his subjects, when they cannot join together in the most joyful, the most solemn, and most laudable action of reasonable creatures; in a word, where the prince considers his people as heretics, and the people look upon their prince as an idolater!

No. 50. MONDAY, JUNE 11.

O quisquis volet impias
Cædes, et rabiem tollere civicam:
Si quæret pater urbium
Subscribi statuis; indomitam audeat
Refrænare licentiam
Clarus postgenitis——

HOR.

WHEN Mahomet had for many years endeavoured to propagate his imposture among his fellow-citizens, and, instead of gaining any number of proselytes, found his ambition frustrated, and his notions ridiculed; he for-

bad his followers the use of argument and disputation in the advancing of his doctrines, and to rely only[a] upon the cimeter for their success. Christianity, he observed, had made its way by reason and miracles, but he professed it was his design to save men by the sword. From that time he began to knock down his fellow-citizens with a great deal of zeal, to plunder caravans with a most exemplary sanctity, and to fill all Arabia with an unnatural medley of religion and bloodshed.

The enemies of our happy establishment seem at present to copy out the piety of this seditious prophet, and to have recourse to his laudable method of club-law, when they find all other means of enforcing the absurdity of their opinions to be ineffectual. It was usual among the ancient Romans, for those, who had saved the life of a citizen, to be dressed in an oaken garland; but among us, this has been a mark of such well-intentioned persons, as would betray their country if they were able, and beat out the brains of their fellow-subjects. Nay, the leaders of this poor unthinking rabble, to shew their wit, have lately decked them out of their kitchen gardens in a most insipid pun, very well suited to the capacity of such followers.

This manner of proceeding has had an effect quite contrary to the intention of these ingenious demagogues; for by setting such an unfortunate mark on their followers, they have exposed them to innumerable drubs and contusions. They have been cudgelled most unmercifully in every part of London and Westminster; and over all the nation have avowed their principles, to the unspeakable damage of their bones. In short, if we may believe our accounts both from town and country, the noses and ears of the party are very much diminished, since they have appeared under this unhappy distinction.

The truth of it is, there is such an unaccountable

[a] *He forbad his followers the use of argument—and to rely only,* &c.] Perspicuity and grammar, both call upon us to reform this sentence, thus—*he forbad his followers the use of argument, and* [required them] *to rely only,* &c.

frenzy and licentiousness spread through the basest of the people, of all parties and denominations, that if their skirmishes did not proceed to too great an extremity, one would not be sorry to see them bestowing so liberally upon one another, a chastisement which they so richly deserve. Their thumps and bruises might turn to account, and save the government a great deal of trouble, if they could beat each other into good manners.

Were not advice thrown away on such a thoughtless rabble, one would recommend to their serious consideration what is suspected, and indeed known, to be the cause of these popular tumults and commotions in this great city. They are the Popish missionaries, that lie concealed under many disguises in all quarters of the town, who mix themselves in these dark scuffles, and animate the mob to such mutual outrages and insults. This profligate species of modern apostles divert themselves at the expence of a government which is opposite to their interests, and are pleased to see the broken heads of heretics, in what party soever they have listed themselves. Their treatment of our silly countrymen, puts me in mind of an account in Tavernier's Travels through the East Indies. This author tells us, there is a great wood in those parts very plentifully stocked with monkies; that a large high way runs through the middle of this wood; and that the monkies who live on the one side of this highway, are declared enemies to those who live on the other. When the inhabitants of that country have a mind to give themselves a diversion, it is usual for them to set these poor animals together by the ears; which they do after this manner: They place several pots of rice in the middle of the road, with great heaps of cudgels in the neighbourhood of every pot. The monkies, on the first discovery of these provisions, descend from the trees on either side in prodigious numbers, take up the arms, with which their good friends have furnished them, and belabour one another with a storm of thwacks, to the no small mirth and entertainment of the beholders. This mob of monkies act, how-

ever, so far reasonably in this point, as the victorious side of the wood find, upon the repulse of their enemies, a considerable booty on the field of battle; whereas our party mobs are betrayed into the fray without any prospect of the feast.

If our common people have not virtue enough left among them, to lay aside this wicked and unnatural hatred, which is crept into their hearts against one another, nor sense enough to resist the artifice of those incendiaries, who would animate them to the destruction of their country; it is high time for the government to exert itself in the repressing of such seditious tumults and commotions. If that extraordinary lenity and forbearance which has been hitherto shewn on those occasions, proves ineffectual to that purpose, these miscreants of the community ought to be made sensible, that our constitution is armed with a sufficient force for the reformation of such disorders, and the settlement of the public peace.

There cannot be a greater affront to religion, than such a tumultuous rising of the people, who distinguish the times set apart for the national devotions by the most brutal scenes of violence, clamour, and intemperance. The day begins with a thanksgiving, and ends in a riot. Instead of the voice of mutual joy and gladness, there is nothing heard in our streets, but opprobrious language, ribaldry, and contention.

As such a practice is scandalous to our religion, so it is no less a reproach to our government. We are become a by-word among the nations for our ridiculous feuds and animosities, and fill all the public prints of Europe with the accounts of our midnight brawls and confusions.

The mischiefs arising to private persons from these vile disturbers of the commonwealth are too many to be enumerated. The great and innocent are insulted by the scum and refuse of the people. Several poor wretches, who have engaged in these commotions, have been disabled for their lives, from doing any good to their families and dependants; nay, several of them

have fallen a sacrifice to their own inexcusable folly and madness. Should the government be wearied out of its present patience and forbearance, and forced to execute all those powers with which it is invested for the preservation of the public peace; what is to be expected by such heaps of turbulent and seditious men!

These and the like considerations, though they may have no influence on the headstrong unruly multitude, ought to sink into the minds of those who are their abettors, and who, if they escape the punishment here due to them, must very well know that these several mischiefs will be one day laid to their charge.

No. 51. FRIDAY, JUNE 15.

Quod si in hoc erro, libenter erro; nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo. CICER.

As there is nothing which more improves the mind of man, than the reading of ancient authors, when it is done with judgment and discretion; so there is nothing which gives a more unlucky turn to the thoughts of a reader, when he wants discernment, and loves and admires the characters and actions of men in a wrong place. Alexander the Great was so inflamed with false notions of glory, by reading the story of Achilles, in the Iliad, that after having taken a town, he ordered the governor, who had made a gallant defence, to be bound by the feet to his chariot, and afterwards dragged the brave man round the city, because Hector had been treated in the same barbarous manner by his admired hero.

Many Englishmen have proved very pernicious to their own country, by following blindly the examples of persons to be met with in Greek and Roman history, who acted in conformity with their own governments, after a quite different manner, than they would have

acted in a constitution like that of ours. Such a method of proceeding is as unreasonable in a politician, as it would be in a husbandman to make use of Virgil's precepts of agriculture, in managing the soil of our country, that lies in a quite different climate, and under the influence of almost another sun.

Our regicides, in the commission of the most execrable murder, used to justify themselves from the conduct of Brutus, not considering that Cæsar, from the condition of a fellow-citizen, had risen by the most indirect methods, and broken through all the laws of the community, to place himself at the head of the government, and enslave his country. On the other side, several of our English readers, having observed that a passive and unlimited obedience was paid to Roman emperors, who were possessed of the whole legislative, as well as executive power, have formerly endeavoured to inculcate the same kind of obedience, where there is not the same kind of authority.

Instructions, therefore, to be learned from histories of this nature, are only such as arise from particulars agreeable to all communities, or from such as are common to our own constitution, and to that of which we read. A tenacious adherence to the rights and liberties transmitted from a wise and virtuous ancestry, public spirit, and a love of one's country, submission to established laws, impartial administrations of justice, a strict regard to national faith, with several other duties, which are the supports and ornaments of government in general, cannot be too much admired among the states of Greece and Rome, nor too much imitated by our own community.

But there is nothing more absurd, than for men who are conversant in these ancient authors, to contract such a prejudice in favour of Greeks and Romans, as to fancy we are in the wrong in every circumstance whereby we deviate from their moral or political conduct. Yet nothing hath been more usual, than for men of warm heads to refine themselves up into this kind of state-pedantry: like the country school-master, who,

being used for many years to admire Jupiter, Mars, Bacchus, and Apollo, that appear with so much advantage in classic authors, made an attempt to revive the worship of the heathen gods. In short, we find many worthy gentlemen, whose brains have been as much turned by this kind of reading, as the grave knight's of Mancha were by his unwearied application to books of knight-errantry.

To prevent such mischiefs from arising out of studies, which, when rightly conducted, may turn very much to our advantage, I shall venture to assert, that in our perusal of Greek or Roman authors, it is impossible to find a religious or civil constitution, any way comparable to that which we enjoy in our own country. Had not our religion been infinitely preferable to that of the ancient heathens, it would never have made its way through Paganism, with that amazing progress and activity. Its victories were the victories of reason, unassisted by the force of human power, and as gentle as the triumphs of light over darkness. The sudden reformation which it made among mankind, and which was so justly and frequently boasted of by the first apologists for Christianity, shews how infinitely preferable it is to any system of religion that prevailed in the world before its appearance. The pre-eminence of Christianity to any other general religious scheme which preceded it, appears likewise from this particular, that the most eminent and the most enlightened among the Pagan philosophers disclaimed many of those superstitious follies, which are condemned by revealed religion, and preached up several of those doctrines which are some of the most essential parts of it.

And here I cannot but take notice of that strange motive which is made use of in the history of free-thinking, to incline us to depart from the revealed doctrines of Christianity, as adhered to by the people of Great Britain, because Socrates, with several other eminent Greeks, and Cicero, with many other learned Romans, did in the like manner depart from the religious notions of their own countrymen. Now this

author should have considered, that those very points, in which these wise men disagreed from the bulk of the people, are points in which they agreed with the received doctrines of our nation. Their free-thinking consisted in asserting the unity and immateriality of the Godhead, the immortality of the soul, a state of future rewards and punishments, and the necessity of virtue, exclusive of all silly and superstitious practices, to procure the happiness of a separate state. They were, therefore, only free-thinkers, so far forth as they approached to the doctrines of Christianity, that is, to those very doctrines which this kind of authors would persuade us, as free-thinkers, to doubt the truth of. Now I would appeal to any reasonable person, whether these great men should not have been proposed to our imitation, rather as they embraced these divine truths, than only upon the account of their breaking loose from the common notions of their fellow-citizens. But this would disappoint the general tendency of such writings.

I shall only add under this head, that as Christianity recovered the law of nature out of all those errors and corruptions, with which it is overgrown in the times of Paganism,[a] our national religion has restored Christianity itself to that purity and simplicity in which it appeared, before it was gradually disguised and lost among the vanities and superstitions of the Romish church.

That our civil constitution is preferable to any among the Greeks or Romans, may appear from this single consideration; that the greatest theorists in matters of this nature, among those very people, have given the preference to such a form of government, as that which obtains in this kingdom, above any other form whatsoever. I shall mention Aristotle, Polybius, and Cicero, that is, the greatest philosopher, the most impartial historian, and the most consummate statesman of all

[a] It is overgrown in *the times* of Paganism,] *i. e.* in times *past*: he should, therefore, have said—it *was* overgrown.

antiquity. These famous authors give the pre-eminence to a mixed government, consisting of three branches, the regal, the noble, and the popular. It would be very easy to prove, not only the reasonableness of this position, but to shew, that there was never any constitution among the Greeks or Romans, in which these three branches were so well distinguished from each other, invested with such suitable proportions of power, and concurred together in the legislature, that is, in the most sovereign acts of government, with such a necessary consent and harmony, as are to be met with in the constitution of this kingdom. But I have observed, in a foregoing paper, how defective the Roman commonwealth was in this particular, when compared with our own form of government, and it will not be difficult for the reader, upon singling out any other ancient state; to find how far it will suffer in the parallel.

No. 52. MONDAY, JUNE 18.

An tu populum Romanum esse illum putas qui constat ex iis, qui mercede conducuntur? qui impelluntur, ut vim afferant magistratibus? ut obsideant senatum? optent quotidie cædem, incendia, rapinas? quem tu tamen populum nisi tabernis clausis, frequentare non poteras: cui populo duces Ventidios, Lollios, Sergios, præfeceras. O speciem, dignitatemque populi Romani, quam Reges, quam nationes exteræ, quam gentes ultimæ pertimescunt; multitudinem hominum ex servis conductis, ex facinorosis, ex egentibus congregatam! CICER.

THERE is in all governments a certain temper of mind, natural to the patriots and lovers of their constitution, which may be called state-jealousy. It is this which makes them apprehensive of every tendency in the people, or in any particular member of the community, to endanger or disturb that form of rule, which is established by the laws and customs of their country. This political jealousy is absolutely requisite in some degree for the preservation of a government, and very reasonable in persons who are persuaded of the excellency of

their constitution, and believe that they derive from it the most valuable blessings of society.

This public-spirited passion is more strong and active under some governments than others. The commonwealth of Venice, which hath subsisted by it for near fourteen hundred years, is so jealous of all its members, that it keeps continual spies upon their actions; and if any one of them presume to censure the established plan of that republic, or touch upon any of its fundamentals, he is brought before a secret council of state, tried in a most rigorous manner, and put to death without mercy. The usual way of proceeding with persons who discover themselves unsatisfied with the title of their sovereign in despotic governments, is to confine the malecontent, if his crimes are not capital, to some castle or dungeon for life. There is, indeed, no constitution so tame and careless of their own defence, where any person dares to give the least sign or intimation of being a traitor in his heart.[a] Our English history furnishes us with many examples of great severities during the disputes between the houses of York and Lancaster, inflicted on such persons as shewed their disaffection to the prince who was on the throne. Every one knows, that a factious inn-keeper, in the reign of Henry the seventh, was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for a saucy pun, which reflected, in a very dark and distant manner, upon the title of that prince to the crown. I do not mention the practice of other governments, as what should be imitated in ours, which, God be thanked, affords us all the reasonable liberty of speech and action, suited to a free people; nor do I take notice of this last instance of severity in our own country, to justify such a proceeding, but only to display the mildness and forbearance made use of under the reign of his present Majesty. It may, however, turn to the advantage of those, who have been instrumental in stirring up

[a] This whole sentence is expressed very inaccurately. It might have been given thus—*There is, indeed, no constitution so tame and careless of its defence, as to permit that any person should dare to give,* &c.

the late tumults and seditions among the people, to consider the treatment which such a lawless ungoverned rabble would have met with in any other country, and under any other sovereign.

These incendiaries have had the art to work up into the most unnatural ferments, the most heavy and stupid part of the community; and, if I may use a fine saying of Terence upon another occasion, 'to convert fools into madmen.' This frenzy hath been raised among them to such a degree, that it has lately discovered itself in a sedition which is without a parallel. They have had the fool-hardiness to set a mark upon themselves on the Pretender's birth-day, as the declared friends to his cause, and professed enemies to their king and country. How fatal would such a distinction, of which every one knew the meaning, have proved in former reigns, when many a circumstance of less significancy has been construed into an overt act of high treason! This unexampled piece of insolence will appear under its just aggravations, if we consider in the first place, that it was aimed personally at the king.

I do not remember among any of our popular commotions, when marks of this nature have been in fashion, that either side were so void of common sense, as to intimate by them an aversion to their sovereign. His person was still held as sacred by both parties. The contention was not who should be the monarch over them, but whose scheme of policy should take place in his administration. This was the conduct of whigs and tories under King Charles the second's reign, when men hung out their principles in different coloured ribbons. Nay, in the times of the great rebellion, the avowed disaffection of the people always terminated in evil counsellors. Such an open outrage upon Majesty, such an ostentation of disloyalty, was reserved for that infamous rabble of Englishmen, who may be justly looked upon as the scandal of the present age, and the most shameless and abandoned race of men that our nation has yet produced.

In the next place. It is very peculiar to this mob of malecontents, that they did not only distinguish themselves against their king, but against a king possessed of all the power of the nation, and one who had so very lately crushed all those of the same principles, that had bravery enough to avow them in the field of battle. Whenever was there an instance of a king who was not contemptible for his weakness, and want of power to resent, insulted by a few of his unarmed dastard subjects?

It is plain, from this single consideration, that such a base ungenerous race of men could rely upon nothing for their safety in this affront to his Majesty, but the known gentleness and lenity of his government. Instead of being deterred by knowing that he had in his hands the power to punish them, they were encouraged by knowing that he had not the inclination. In a word, they presumed upon that mercy, which in all their conversations they endeavour to depreciate and misrepresent.

It is a very sensible concern to every one, who has a true and unfeigned respect of our national religion, to hear these vile miscreants calling themselves sons of the church of England, amidst such impious tumults and disorders; and joining in the cry of high-church, at the same time that they bear a badge, which implies their inclination to destroy the reformed religion. Their concern for the church always rises highest, when they are acting in direct opposition to its doctrines. Our streets are filled at the same time with zeal and drunkenness, riots and religion. We must confess, if noise and clamour, slander and calumny, treason and perjury, were articles of their communion, there would be none living more punctual in the performance of their duties; but if a peaceable behaviour, a love of truth, and a submission to superiors, are the genuine marks of our profession, we ought to be very heartily ashamed of such a profligate brotherhood. Or if we will still think and own these men to be true sons of the church of England, I dare say there is no church in Europe which

will envy her the glory of such disciples. But it is to be hoped we are not so fond of party, as to look upon a man, because he is a bad Christian, to be a good church of England man.

No. 53. FRIDAY, JUNE 22.

———*Bellua Centiceps.*

Hor.

THERE is scarce any man in England, of what denomination soever, that is not a free-thinker in politics, and hath not some particular notions of his own, by which he distinguishes himself from the rest of the community. Our island, which was formerly called a nation of saints, may now be called a nation of statesmen. Almost every age, profession, and sex among us, has its favourite set of ministers, and scheme of government.

Our children are initiated into factions before they know their right hand from their left. They no sooner begin to speak, but whig and tory are the first words they learn. They are taught in their infancy to hate one half of the nation; and contract all the virulence and passion of a party, before they come to the use of their reason.

As for our nobility, they are politicians by birth; and though the commons of the nation delegate their power in the community to certain representatives, every one reserves to himself a private jurisdiction, or privilege, of censuring their conduct, and rectifying the legislature. There is scarce a fresh man in either university, who is not able to mend the constitution in several particulars. We see 'squires and yeomen coming up to town every day, so full of politics, that, to use the thought of an ingenious gentleman, we are frequently put in mind of Roman dictators, who were called from

the plough. I have often heard of a senior alderman in Buckinghamshire, who, at all public meetings, grows drunk in praise of aristocracy, and is as often encountered by an old justice of the peace who lives in the neighbourhood, and will talk you from morning till night on the Gothic balance. Who hath not observed several parish clerks, that have ransacked Hopkins and Sternhold for staves in favour of the race of Jacob; after the example of their politic predecessors in Oliver's days, who, on every Sabbath were for binding kings in chains, and nobles in links of iron! You can scarce see a bench of porters without two or three casuists in it, that will settle you the right of princes, and state the bounds of the civil and ecclesiastical power, in the drinking of a pot of ale. What is more usual than on a rejoicing night to meet with a drunken cobler bawling out for the church, and perhaps knocked down a little after, by an enemy in his own profession, who is a lover of moderation!

We have taken notice in former papers of this political ferment being got into the female sex, and of the wild work it makes among them. We have had a late most remarkable instance of it in a contest between a sister of the white rose, and a beautiful and loyal young lady, who, to shew her zeal for revolution-principles, had adorned her pretty bosom with a sweet-william. The rabble of the sex have not been ashamed very lately to gather about bonfires, and scream out their principles in the public streets. In short, there is hardly a female in this our metropolis, who is not a competent judge of our highest controversies in church and state. We have several oyster-women that hold the unlawfulness of episcopacy; and cinder wenches that are great sticklers for indefeasible right.

Of all the ways and means by which this political humour hath been propagated among the people of Great Britain, I cannot single out any so prevalent and universal, as the late constant application of the press to the publishing of state-matters. We hear of several that are newly erected in the country, and set apart for

this particular use. For, it seems, the people of Exeter, Salisbury, and other large towns, are resolved[a] to be as great politicians as the inhabitants of London and Westminster; and deal out such news of their own printing, as is best suited to the genius of the market-people, and the taste of the county.

One cannot but be sorry, for the sake of these places, that such a pernicious machine is erected among them; for it is very well known here, that the making of the politician is the breaking of the tradesman. When a citizen turns a Machiavel, he grows too cunning to mind his own business; and I have heard a curious observation, that the woollen manufacture has of late years decayed in proportion as the paper manufacture has increased. Whether the one may not properly be looked upon as the occasion of the other, I shall leave to the judgment of persons more profound in political inquiries.

As our news-writers record many facts which, to use their own phrase, 'afford great matter of speculation,' their readers speculate accordingly, and by their variety of conjectures, in a few years become consummate statesmen; besides, as their papers are filled with a different party-spirit, they naturally divide the people into different sentiments, who generally consider rather the principles, than the truth of the news-writer. This humour prevails to such a degree, that there are several well-meaning persons in the nation, who have been so misled by their favourite authors of this kind, that in the present contention between the Turk and the emperor, they are gone over insensibly from the interests of Christianity, and become well-wishers to the Mahometan cause. In a word, almost every news-writer has his sect, which (considering the natural genius of our countrymen to mix, vary, or refine, in notions of state) furnishes every man, by degrees, with a particular

[a] What was only then *resolved* in one or two of our chief cities, is now executed in almost every great town of the kingdom. I write this in 1770.

system of policy. For, however any one may concur in the general scheme of his party, it is still with certain reserves and deviations, and with a salvo to his own private judgment.

Among this innumerable herd of politicians, I cannot but take notice of one set, who do not seem to play fair with the rest of the fraternity, and make a very considerable class of men. These are such as we may call the Afterwise, who, when any project fails, or hath not had its desired effect, foresaw all the inconveniencies that would arise from it, though they kept their thoughts to themselves till they discovered the issue. Nay, there is nothing more usual than for some of these wise men, who applauded public measures, before they were put in execution, to condemn them upon their proving unsuccessful. The dictators in coffee-houses are generally of this rank, who often give shrewd intimations that things would have taken another turn, had they been members of the cabinet.

How difficult must it be for any form of government to continue undisturbed, or any ruler to be uncensured, where every one of the community is thus qualified for modelling the constitution, and is so good a judge in matters of state! A famous French wit, to shew how the monarch of that nation, who has no partners in his sovereignty, is better able to make his way through all the difficulties of government, than an emperor of Germany, who acts in concert with many inferior fellow-sovereigns; compares the first to a serpent with many tails to one head; and the other to a serpent with one tail to many heads; and puts the question, which of them is like to glide with most ease and activity through a thicket? The same comparison will hold in the business of a nation conducted by a ministry, or a whole kingdom of politicians.

No. 54. MONDAY, JUNE 25.

——Tu, nisi ventis
Debes ludibrium, cave.
Nuper solicitum quæ mihi tædium,
Nunc desiderium, curaque non levis.
HOR.

THE general division of the British nation is into whigs and tories, there being very few, if any, who stand neuters in the dispute, without ranging themselves under one of these denominations. One would, therefore, be apt to think, that every member of the community, who embraces with vehemence the principles of either of these parties, had thoroughly sifted and examined them, and was secretly convinced of their preference to those of that party which he rejects. And yet it is certain, that most of our fellow-subjects are guided in this particular, either by the prejudice of education, private interest, personal friendships, or a deference to the judgment of those, who perhaps, in their own hearts disapprove the opinions which they industriously spread among the multitude. Nay, there is nothing more undoubtedly true, than that great numbers of one side concur in reality with the notions of those whom they oppose, were they able to explain their implicit sentiments, and to tell their own meaning.

However, as it becomes every reasonable man to examine those principles by which he acts, I shall in this paper select some considerations, out of many, that might be insisted on, to shew the preference of what is generally called the whig-scheme, to that which is espoused by the tories.

This will appear in the first place, if we reflect upon the tendency of their respective principles, supposing them carried to their utmost extremity. For if, in this case, the worst consequences of the one are more eligible than the worst consequences of the other, it is a plain argument, that those principles are the most

eligible of the two, whose effects are the least pernicious. Now the tendency of these two different sets of principles, as they are charged upon each party by its antagonists, is as follows. The tories tell us, that the whig-scheme would end in Presbyterianism and a commonwealth. The whigs tell us, on the other side, that the tory-scheme would terminate in Popery and arbitrary government. Were these reproaches mutually true; which would be most preferable[a] to any man of common sense, Presbyterianism and a republican form of government, or Popery and tyranny? Both extremes are indeed dreadful, but not equally so; both to be regarded with the utmost aversion by the friends of our constitution, and lovers of our country: but if one of them were inevitable, who would not rather chuse to live under a state of excessive liberty, than of slavery, and not prefer a religion that differs from our own in the circumstantials, before one that differs from it in the essentials of Christianity!

Secondly, Let us look into the history of England, and see under which of these two schemes the nation has enjoyed most honour and prosperity. If we observe the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the first[b] (which an impudent Frenchman calls the reigns of King Elizabeth and Queen James) we find the whig-scheme took place under the first, and the tory-scheme under the latter. The first, in whom the whigs have always gloried, opposed and humbled the most powerful among the Roman Catholic princes; raised and supported the Dutch; assisted the French Protestants; and made the reformed religion an overbalance for Popery through all Europe. On the contrary, her successor aggrandized the Catholic King; alienated himself from the Dutch; suffered the French

[a] *Most preferable*] *Preferable* is equivalent to the comparative degree. So that *most preferable* is a solecism, and the same thing as—*most welcomer*.

[b] The author is pleasant in making a whig of Queen Elizabeth. But he thought it allowable, in so good a cause, to make use of a little sophistry.

power to increase, till it was too late to remedy it; and abandoned the interests of the king of Bohemia, grandfather to his present Majesty, which might have spread the reformed religion through all Germany. I need not describe to the reader the different state of the kingdom as to its reputation, trade, and wealth, under these two reigns. We might, after this, compare the figure in which these kingdoms, and the whole Protestant interest of Europe, were placed by the conduct of King Charles the second, and that of King William;[a] and every one knows which of the schemes prevailed in each of those reigns. I shall not impute to any tory-scheme the administration of King James the second, on condition that they do not reproach the whigs with the usurpation of Oliver; as being satisfied that the principles of those governments are respectively disclaimed and abhorred by all the men of sense and virtue in both parties, as they now stand. But we have a fresh instance which will be remembered with grief by the present age and all our posterity, of the influence both of whig and tory principles in the late reign. Was England ever so glorious in the eyes of Europe, as in that part of it when the first prevailed? or was it ever more contemptible than when the last took place?

I shall add, under this head, the preference of the whig-scheme with regard to foreigners. All the Protestant states of Europe, who may be considered as neutral judges between both parties, and are well-wishers to us in general, as to a Protestant people, rejoice upon the success of a whig-scheme; whilst all of the church of Rome, who contemn, hate, and detest us as the great bulwark of heresy, are as much pleased when the opposite party triumphs in its turn. And here let any impartial man put this question to his own heart, whether that party doth not act reasonably, who look upon the Dutch as their genuine friends and allies, considering that they are of the reformed religion, that they have assisted us in the greatest times of necessity, and

[a] This instance is to the purpose.

that they can never entertain a thought of reducing us under their power. Or, on the other hand, let him consider whether that party acts with more reason, who are the avowed friends of a nation, that are of the Roman Catholic religion, that have cruelly persecuted our brethren of the reformation, that have made attempts in all ages to conquer this island, and supported the interest of that prince, who abdicated the throne, and had endeavoured to subvert our civil and religious liberties.

Thirdly, Let us compare these two schemes from the effects they produce among ourselves within our own island; and these we may consider, first with regard to the king, and secondly with regard to the people.

First, With regard to the king. The whigs have always professed and practised an obedience which they conceive agreeable to the constitution; whereas the tories have concurred with the whigs in their practice, though they differ from them in their professions; and have avowed a principle of passive-obedience to the temptation, and afterwards to the destruction, of those who have relied upon it. Nor must I here omit to take notice of that firm and zealous adherence which the whig-party have shewn to the Protestant succession, and to the cause of his present Majesty. I have never heard of any in this principle, who was either guilty or suspected of measures to defeat this establishment, or to overturn it, since it has taken effect. A consideration, which, it is hoped, may put to silence those who upbraid the whig-schemes of government, with an inclination to a commonwealth, or a disaffection to kings.

Secondly, With regard to the people. Every one must own, that those laws which have most conduced to the ease and happiness of the subject, have always passed in those parliaments, which their enemies branded with the name of whig, and during the time of a whig-ministry. And, what is very remarkable, the tories are now forced to have recourse to those laws for shelter and protection: by which they tacitly do honour to the whig-scheme, and own it more accommodated to

the happiness of the people, than that which they espouse.

I hope I need not qualify these remarks with a supposition which I have gone upon through the whole course of my papers, that I am far from considering a great part of those who call themselves tories, as enemies to the present establishment; and that by the whigs I always mean those who are friends to our constitution both in church and state. As we may look upon these to be, in the main, true lovers of their religion and country, they seem rather to be divided by accidental friendships and circumstances, than by any essential distinction.

No. 55. FRIDAY, JUNE 29.

———*cæstus artemque repono.*

VIRG.

A RISING of parliament being a kind of cessation from politics, the Freeholder cannot let his paper drop at a more proper juncture. I would not be accessary to the continuing of our political ferment, when occasions of dispute are not administered to us by matters depending before the legislature; and when debates without doors naturally fall with those in the two houses of parliament. At the same time a British Freeholder would very ill discharge his part, if he did not acknowledge, with becoming duty and gratitude, the excellency and seasonableness of those laws, by which the representatives of men in his rank have recovered their country in a great measure out of its confusions, and provided for its future peace and happiness under the present establishment. Their unanimous and regular proceeding, under the conduct of that honourable person who fills their chair with the most consummate abilities, and hath justly gained the esteem of all sides by the impartiality of his

behaviour; the absolute necessity of some acts which they have passed, and their dis-inclination to extend them any longer,[a] than that necessity required; their manifest aversion to enter upon schemes, which the enemies of our peace had insinuated to have been[b] their design; together with that temper so suitable to the dignity of such an assembly, at a juncture when it might have been expected that very unusual heats would have arisen[c] in a House of Commons, so zealous for their king and country; will be sufficient to quiet those groundless jealousies and suspicions, which have been industriously propagated by the ill-wishers to our constitution.

The undertaking, which I am now laying down, was entered upon in the very crisis of the late rebellion, when it was the duty of every Briton to contribute his utmost assistance to the government, in a manner suitable to his station and abilities. All services, which had a tendency to this end, had a degree of merit in them, in proportion as the event of that cause which they espoused was then doubtful. But at present they might be regarded not as duties of private men to their endangered country, but as insults of the successful over their defeated enemies.

Our nation indeed continues to be agitated with confusions and tumults; but, God be thanked, these are only the impotent remains of an unnatural rebellion, and are no more than the after-tossings of a sea when the storm is laid. The enemies of his present Majesty, instead of seeing him driven from his throne, as they vainly hoped, find him in a condition to visit his dominions in Germany, without any danger to himself or to the public; whilst his dutiful subjects would be

[a] *Extend longer,*] He should either have said—*extend them any farther,* or *continue them any longer.*

[b] *Had insinuated to have been,* rather, *had insinuated to be*—But, the expression, at best, is somewhat awkward. I should have said—*"which the enemies of our peace had charged them with projecting."*

[c] *It might have been expected* that very unusual heats *would have arisen*] certainly, *would arise.*

in no ordinary concern upon this occasion, had they not the consolation to find themselves left under the protection of a prince, who makes it his ambition to copy out his royal father's example; and who, by his duty to his Majesty, and affection to his people, is so well qualified to be the guardian of the realm.

It would not be difficult to continue a paper of this kind, if one were disposed to resume the same subjects, and weary out the reader with the same thoughts in a different phrase, or to ramble through the cause of whig and tory, without any certain aim or method, in every particular discourse. Such a practice in political writers, is like that of some preachers taken notice of by Dr. South, who being prepared only upon two or three points of doctrine, run the same round with their audience from one end of the year to the other, and are always forced to tell them, by way of preface, These are particulars of so great importance, that they cannot be sufficiently inculcated. To avoid this method of tautology, I have endeavoured to make every paper a distinct essay upon some particular subject, without deviating into points foreign to the tenor of each discourse. They are, indeed, most of them essays upon government, but with a view to the present situation of affairs in Great Britain; so that if they have the good fortune[a] to live longer than works of this nature generally do, future readers may see in them the complexion of the times in which they were written. However, as there is no employment so irksome, as that of transcribing out of one's self, next to that of transcribing out of others, I shall let drop the work, since there do not occur to me any material points arising from our present situation, which I have not already touched upon.

[a] They have had, and will continue to have, *this good fortune*; not so much for their own intrinsic merit (though it be considerable) as for the high reputation which the author of them had so justly acquired to himself, by his other works. It follows, that if a writer would *live*, he should only, or chiefly, treat subjects of a general concern.

As to the reasonings in these several papers, I must leave them to the judgment of others. I have taken particular care that they should be conformable to our constitution, and free from that mixture of violence and passion, which so often creeps into the works of political writers. A good cause doth not want any bitterness to support it, as a bad one cannot subsist without it. It is indeed observable, that an author is scurrilous in proportion as he is dull; and seems rather to be in a passion, because he cannot find out what to say for his own opinion, than because he has discovered any pernicious absurdities in that of his antagonists. A man satirized by writers of this class, is like one burnt in the hand with a cold iron: there may be ignominious terms and words of infamy in the stamp, but they leave no impression behind them.

It would indeed have been an unpardonable insolence for a fellow-subject to treat in a vindictive and cruel style, those persons whom his Majesty has endeavoured to reduce to obedience by gentle methods, which he has declared from the throne to be most agreeable to his inclinations. May we not hope that all of this kind, who have the least sentiments of honour or gratitude, will be won over to their duty by so many instances of royal clemency, in the midst of so many repeated provocations! May we not expect that Cicero's words to Cæsar, in which he speaks of those who were Cæsar's enemies, and of his conduct towards them, may be applied to his Majesty; *Omnes enim qui fuerunt, aut sud pertinaciâ vitam amiserunt, aut tuâ misericordiâ retinuerunt; ut aut nulli supersint de inimicis, aut qui superfuerunt, amicissimi sint.—Quare gaude tuo isto tam excellenti bono, et fruere cum fortunâ, et gloriâ, tum etiam naturâ, et moribus tuis. Ex quo quidem maximus est fructus, jucunditasque sapienti—Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, quam ut possis, nec natura tua melius, quam ut velis, quamplurimos conservare.*

As for those papers of a gayer turn, which may be met with in this collection, my reader will of himself, consider, how requisite they are to gain and keep up

an audience to matters of this nature; and will perhaps be the more indulgent to them, if he observes, that they are none of them without a moral, nor contain any thing but what is consistent with decency and good manners.

It is obvious that the design of the whole work, has been to free the people's minds from those prejudices conveyed into them, by the enemies to the present establishment, against the king and royal family, by opening and explaining their real characters; to set forth his Majesty's proceedings, which have been very grossly misrepresented, in a fair and impartial light; to shew the reasonableness and necessity of our opposing the Pretender to his dominions, if we have any regard to our religion and liberties: and, in a word, to incline the minds of the people to the desire and enjoyment of their own happiness. There is no question, humanly speaking, but these great ends will be brought about insensibly, as men will grow weary of a fruitless opposition; and be convinced by experience, of a necessity to acquiesce under a government which daily gathers strength, and is able to disappoint the utmost efforts of its enemies. In the meanwhile, I would recommend to our malecontents, the advice given by a great moralist to his friend upon another occasion; that he would shew it was in the power of wisdom to compose his passions; and let that be the work of reason which would certainly be the effect of time.

I shall only add, that if any writer shall do this paper so much honour, as to inscribe[a] the title of it to others, which may be published upon the laying down of this work; the whole praise or dispraise of such a performance, will belong to some other author; this fifty-fifth being the last paper that will come from the hand of the Freeholder.

[a] *Inscribe to*—We say—*ascribe to*—but, *inscribe on.*

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION.[a]

SECTION I.

I. *General division of the following discourse, with regard to Pagan and Jewish authors, who mention particulars relating to our Saviour.*
II. *Not probable that any such should be mentioned by Pagan writers who lived at the same time, from the nature of such transactions.*
III. *Especially when related by the Jews:*
IV. *And heard at a distance by those who pretended to as great miracles as their own.*
V. *Besides that, no Pagan writers of that age lived in Judæa or its confines.*
VI. *And because many books of that age are lost.*
VII. *An instance of one record proved to be authentic.*
VIII. *A second record of probable, though not undoubted, authority.*

THAT I may lay before you a full state of the subject under our consideration, and methodize the several particulars that I touched upon in discourse with you; I shall first take notice of such Pagan authors, as have

[a] The following work on the Christian Religion, has great merit; but, from the nature of it, required a greater detail, in the execution. For, as an ancient writer [a] has well observed,—*fit totum et minus plenum, cum tanta rerum multitudo in angustum coarctanda sit; et brevitate ipsâ minus clarum, maximè cùm et argumenta plurima et exempla, in quibus lumen est probationum, necesse sit præteriri.* However, the plan was ably conceived, and would, without doubt, if the author had lived, have been drawn out to a just extent. For we are told, he had taken great pains in collecting materials for it, and was more assiduous in digesting them, *that his health would well allow.*[b]

Thus our Addison, like the admirable Pascal, closed his valuable life

[a] Lactantius. Ep. D. J. præf.
[b] Life by Mr. Tickell.

given their testimony to the history of our Saviour; reduce these authors under their respective classes, and shew what authority their testimonies carry with them. Secondly, I shall take notice of Jewish authors in the same light.

II. There are many reasons, why you should not expect that matters of such a wonderful nature should be taken notice of by those eminent Pagan writers, who were contemporaries with Jesus Christ, or by those who lived before his disciples had personally appeared among them, and ascertained the report which had gone abroad concerning a life so full of miracles.

Supposing such things had happened at this day in Switzerland, or among the Grisons, who make a greater figure in Europe than Judea did in the Roman empire, would they be immediately believed by those who live at a great distance from them? or would any certain account of them be transmitted into foreign countries, within so short a space of time as that of our Saviour's public ministry? Such kinds of news, though never so true, seldom gain credit, till some time after they are transacted and exposed to the examination of the curious, who by laying together circumstances, attestations, and characters of those who are concerned in them, either receive, or reject what at first none but eye-witnesses could absolutely believe or disbelieve. In a case of this sort, it was natural for men of sense and learning to treat the whole account as fabulous, or at farthest to suspend their belief of it, until all things stood together in their full light.

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life in meditating a defence of the Christian Religion. One is not surprised to find this agreement in the views of two such men; the one, the sublimest genius, and the other, the most cultivated, of modern times. But there was this lamented difference in their story. The spirit of Jansenism, falling on a temper naturally scrupulous, and a constitution, always infirm, threw a sombrous fanatic air on Pascal's religious speculations, as it did on his life: while our happier countryman, by the benefit of better health, and juster principles, maintained a constant sobriety in the conduct of each.

III. Besides, the Jews were branded not only for superstitions different from all the religions of the Pagan world, but in a particular manner ridiculed for being a credulous people; so that whatever reports of such a nature came out of that country, were looked upon by the heathen world as false, frivolous, and improbable.

IV. We may further observe, that the ordinary practice of magic in those times, with the many pretended prodigies, divinations, apparitions, and local miracles among the heathens, made them less attentive to such news from Judea, till they had time to consider the nature, the occasion, and the end of our Saviour's miracles, and were awakened by many surprising events to allow them any consideration at all.

V. We are indeed told by St. Matthew, that the fame of our Saviour, during his life, went throughout all Syria, and that there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, Judea, Decapolis, Idumæa, from beyond Jordan, and from Tyre and Sidon. Now had there been any historians of those times and places, we might have expected to have seen in them some account of those wonderful transactions in Judea; but there is not any single author extant, in any kind, of that age, in any of those countries.

VI. How many books have perished in which possibly there might have been mention of our Saviour? Look among the Romans, how few of their writings are come down to our times? In the space of two hundred years from our Saviour's birth, when there was such a multitude of writers in all kinds, how small is the number of authors that have made their way to the present age?

VII. One authentic record, and that the most authentic heathen record, we are pretty sure is lost. I mean the account sent by the Governor of Judea, under whom our Saviour was judged, condemned, and crucified. It was the custom in the Roman empire, as it is to this day in all the governments of the world, for the præfects and viceroys of distant provinces to transmit to their sovereign a summary relation of every thing

remarkable in their administration. That Pontius Pilate, in his account, would have touched on so extraordinary an event in Judea, is not to be doubted; and that he actually did, we learn from Justin Martyr, who lived about a hundred years after our Saviour's death, resided, made converts, and suffered martyrdom at Rome, where he was engaged with philosophers, and in a particular manner with Crescens the cynic, who could easily have detected, and would not fail to have exposed him, had he quoted a record not in being, or made any false citation out of it. Would the great apologist have challenged Crescens to dispute the cause of Christianity with him before the Roman senate, had he forged such an evidence? or would Crescens have refused the challenge, could he have triumphed over him in the detection of such a forgery? To which we must add, that the apology, which appeals to this record, was presented to a learned Emperor, and to the whole body of the Roman senate. This father in his apology, speaking of the death and suffering of our Saviour, refers the emperor for the truth of what he says to the acts of Pontius Pilate, which I have here mentioned. Tertullian, who wrote his apology about fifty years after Justin, doubtless referred to the same record, when he tells the Governor of Rome, that the Emperor Tiberius having received an account out of Palestine in Syria of the Divine Person, who had appeared in that country, paid him a particular regard, and threatened to punish any who should accuse the Christians; nay, that the emperor would have adopted him among the deities whom they worshipped, had not the senate refused to come into his proposal. Tertullian, who gives us this history, was not only one of the most learned men of his age, but what adds a greater weight to his authority in this case, was eminently skilful and well read in the laws of the Roman empire. Nor can it be said, that Tertullian grounded his quotation upon the authority of Justin Martyr, because we find he mixes it with matters of fact which are not related by that author. Eusebius mentions the same ancient record, but as it was not extant in his

time, I shall not insist upon his authority in this point. If it be objected, that this particular is not mentioned in any Roman historian, I shall use the same argument in a parallel case, and see whether it will carry any force with it. Ulpian the great Roman lawyer gathered together all the imperial edicts that had been made against the Christians. But did any one ever say, that there had been no such edicts, because they were not mentioned in the histories of those emperors? Besides, who knows but this circumstance of Tiberius was mentioned in other historians that have been lost, though not to be found in any still extant? Has not Suetonius many particulars of this emperor omitted by Tacitus, and Herodian many that are not so much as hinted at by either? As for the spurious acts of Pilate, now extant, we know the occasion and time of their writing, and that had there not been a true and authentic record of this nature, they would never have been forged.

VIII. The story of Agbarus[a] king of Edessa, relating

[a] *The story of Agbarus,* &c.] Mr. Gibbon in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, taking occasion, I know not how or why, to mention this story of Agbarus king of Edessa, and his correspondence with our Saviour (to which some countenance is here given) reprobates that tradition, and its abettors, in the following terms.——

"The evidence for these epistles is stated and rejected by the candid Lardner. Among the herd of bigots who are forcibly driven from this convenient, but untenable post, I am ashamed, with the Grabes, Caves, Tillemonts, &c. to discover Mr. Addison, an English gentleman; but his superficial tract on the Christian Religion owes its credit to his name, his style, and the interested applause of our clergy."

Thus the historian, out of a liberal zeal against *a herd of bigots.* But he blushes to find Mr. Addison in that number; and, in good breeding, he could do no less, considering that Mr. Addison was not a pedant like the Grabes, Caves, and Tillemonts, but an *English Gentleman.* Let the civility of this phrase then be acknowledged; and yet, as I know what a wag we have to deal with, I more than suspect it was employed only as the oily vehicle of his satire. For he immediately adds, that this tract of the English gentleman on the Christian Religion is *a superficial tract;* and that it *owes its credit to his name, his style, and the interested applause of our clergy.*

A superficial tract'—As if the author, or any body else for him, had given it out, as an elaborate and complete work on the subject. Yet, if by *superficial* he means, not solid, or deficient in point of argument, I apprehend our critical historian is much mistaken. A single mistake

to the letter which he sent to our Saviour, and to that which he received from him, is a record of great authority; and though I will not insist upon it, may venture to say, that had we such an evidence for any fact in Pagan history, an author would be thought very unreasonable who should reject it. I believe you will be of my opinion, if you will peruse, with other authors, who have appeared in vindication of these letters as genuine, the additional arguments which have been made use of by the late famous and learned Dr. Grabe, in the second volume of his Spicilegium.

(if the story he alludes to be one) in a large collection of evidence, will not prove the charge: and a more exact and minute detail of facts could only set his arguments in a stronger light; not turn a bad argument into a good one.

But superficial as it is, it has gained *credit* in the world, which, however, he ascribes to his *name* (and with reason, for it is a very good one) and to his *style* (very reasonably again, for his style is excellent, and must needs do honour to any work, in which it is employed) and to *the interested applause of our clergy*. Here the reason is not so apparent. The clergy, it seems, have cried up his defence of Christianity, because—they have an interest in his defence of it. But, what *interest*, let me ask, besides that which all honest men have in the maintenance of truth, virtue, and piety: in the prevalence of which, all their dearest interests, present and to come, are included? No, he will say, "it is the interest which the clergy have in supporting falsehood and imposture, for the sake of the emoluments annexed to the public teaching of the Christian Religion." That is, he thinks the English clergy ready to say any thing for a piece of bread, and that, for the most part, a coarse and scanty one, too. Such is the candour of our virtuous historian.

But let him think of *our clergy* as he sees fit. They will certainly go on to applaud such writers as Mr. Addison, who to an excellent head joined an honest heart; and who knew how to instruct, at once, and delight his readers, with good sense, unspoiled by *philosophy*; and a style of writing not corrupted by affectation.

SECTION II.

I. *What facts in the history of our Saviour might be taken notice of by Pagan authors.*
II. *What particular facts are taken notice of, and by what Pagan authors.*
III. *How Celsus represented our Saviour's miracles.*
IV. *The same representation made of them by other unbelievers, and proved unreasonable.*
V. *What facts in our Saviour's history not to be expected from Pagan writers.*

I. WE now come to consider what undoubted authorities are extant among Pagan writers; and here we must premise, that some parts of our Saviour's history may be reasonably expected from Pagans. I mean such parts as might be known to those who lived at a distance from Judea, as well as to those who were the followers and eye-witnesses of Christ.

II. Such particulars are most of these which follow, and which are all attested by some one or other of those heathen authors, who lived in or near the age of our Saviour and his disciples. That Augustus Cæsar had ordered the whole empire to be censed or taxed, which brought our Saviour's reputed parents to Bethlehem: this is mentioned by several Roman historians, as Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion. 'That a great light, or a new star appeared in the east, which directed the wise men to our Saviour:' this is recorded by Chalcidius. 'That Herod, the king of Palestine, so often mentioned in the Roman history, made a great slaughter of innocent children,' being so jealous of his successor, that he put to death his own sons on that account: this character of him is given by several historians, and this cruel fact mentioned by Macrobius, a heathen author, who tells it as a known thing, without any mark or doubt upon it. 'That our Saviour had been in Egypt:' this Celsus, though he raises a monstrous story upon it, is so far from denying, that he tells us our Saviour learned the arts of magic in that country. 'That Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea, that our Saviour was

brought in judgment before him, and by him condemned and crucified:' this is recorded by Tacitus. 'That many miraculous cures and works out of the ordinary course of nature were wrought by him:' this is confessed by Julian the apostate, Porphyry, and Hierocles, all of them not only Pagans, but professed enemies and persecutors of Christianity. 'That our Saviour foretold several things which came to pass according to his predictions:' this was attested by Phlegon in his annals, as we are assured by the learned Origen against Celsus. 'That at the time when our Saviour died, there was a miraculous darkness and a great earthquake:' this is recorded by the same Phlegon the Trallian, who was likewise a Pagan and freeman to Adrian the emperor. We may here observe, that a native of Trallium, which was not situate at so great a distance from Palestine, might very probably be informed of such remarkable events as had passed among the Jews in the age immediately preceding his own times, since several of his countrymen with whom he had conversed, might have received a confused report of our Saviour before his crucifixion, and probably lived within the shake of the earthquake, and the shadow of the eclipse, which are recorded by this author. 'That Christ was worshipped as a god among the Christians; that they would rather suffer death than blaspheme him; that they received a sacrament, and by it entered into a vow of abstaining from sin and wickedness,' conformable to the advice given by St. Paul; 'that they had private assemblies of worship, and used to join together in hymns:' this is the account which Pliny the younger gives of Christianity in his days, about seventy years after the death of Christ, and which agrees in all its circumstances with the accounts we have in holy writ, of the first state of Christianity after the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour. 'That St. Peter, whose miracles are many of them recorded in holy writ, did many wonderful works,' is owned by Julian the apostate, who therefore represents him as a great magician, and one who had in his possession a book of magical secrets left

him by our Saviour, 'That the devils or evil spirits were subject to them,' we may learn from Porphyry, who objects to Christianity, that since Jesus had begun to be worshipped, Æsculapius and the rest of the gods did no more converse with men. Nay, Celsus himself affirms the same thing in effect, when he says, that the power which seemed to reside in Christians, proceeded from the use of certain names, and the invocation of certain demons. Origen remarks on this passage, that the author doubtless hints at those Christians who put to flight evil spirits, and healed those who were possessed with them; a fact which had been often seen, and which he himself had seen, as he declares in another part of his discourse against Celsus. But at the same time he assures us, that this miraculous power was exerted by the use of no other name but that of Jesus, to which were added several passages in his history, but nothing like any invocation to demons.

III. Celsus was so hard set with the report of our Saviour's miracles, and the confident attestations concerning him, that though he often intimates he did not believe them to be true, yet knowing he might be silenced in such an answer, provides himself with another retreat, when beaten out of this; namely, that our Saviour was a magician. Thus he compares the feeding of so many thousands at two different times with a few loaves and fishes, to the magical feasts of those Egyptian impostors, who would present their spectators with visionary entertainments that had in them neither substance nor reality: which, by the way, is to suppose, that a hungry and fainting multitude were filled by an apparition, or strengthened and refreshed with shadows. He knew very well, that there were so many witnesses and actors, if I may call them such, in these two miracles, that it was impossible to refute such multitudes, who had doubtless sufficiently spread the fame of them, and was, therefore, in this place forced to resort to the other solution, that it was done by magic. It was not enough to say, that a miracle which appeared to so many thousand eye-witnesses was a forgery of

Christ's disciples, and therefore supposing them to be eye-witnesses, he endeavours to shew how they might be deceived.

IV. The unconverted heathens, who were pressed by the many authorities that confirmed our Saviour's miracles, as well as the unbelieving Jews, who had actually seen them, were driven to account for them after the same manner: for, to work by magic in the heathen way of speaking, was, in the language of the Jews, to cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince of the devils. Our Saviour, who knew that unbelievers in all ages would put this perverse interpretation on his miracles, has branded the malignity of those men, who, contrary to the dictates of their own hearts started such an unreasonable objection, as a blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and declared not only the guilt, but the punishment of so black a crime. At the same time he condescended to shew the vanity and emptiness of this objection against his miracles, by representing that they evidently tended to the destruction of those powers, to whose assistance the enemies of his doctrine then ascribed them. An argument, which, if duly weighed, renders the objection so very frivolous and groundless, that we may venture to call it even blasphemy against common sense. Would magic endeavour to draw off the minds of men from the worship which was paid to stocks and stones, to give them an abhorrence of those evil spirits who rejoiced in the most cruel sacrifices, and in offerings of the greatest impurity; and, in short, to call upon mankind to exert their whole strength in the love and adoration of that one Being, from whom they derived their existence, and on whom only they were taught to depend every moment for the happiness and continuance of it? Was it the business of magic to humanize our natures with compassion, forgiveness, and all the instances of the most extensive charity? Would evil spirits contribute to make men sober, chaste, and temperate, and, in a word, to produce that reformation which was wrought in the moral world by those doctrines of our Saviour, that received their sanction

from his miracles? Nor is it possible to imagine, that evil spirits would enter into a combination with our Saviour to cut off all their correspondence and intercourse with mankind, and to prevent any for the future from addicting themselves to those rites and ceremonies, which had done them so much honour. We see the early effect which Christianity had on the minds of men in this particular, by that number of books, which were filled with the secrets of magic, and made a sacrifice to Christianity, by the converts mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. We have likewise an eminent instance of the inconsistency of our religion with magic, in the history of the famous Aquila. This person, who was a kinsman of the Emperor Trajan, and likewise a man of great learning, notwithstanding he had embraced Christianity, could not be brought off from the studies of magic, by the repeated admonitions of his fellow-christians: so that at length they expelled him their society, as rather chusing to lose the reputation of so considerable a proselyte, than communicate with one who dealt in such dark and infernal practices. Besides, we may observe, that all the favourers of magic were the most professed and bitter enemies to the Christian religion. Not to mention Simon Magus and many others, I shall only take notice of those two great persecutors of Christianity, the emperors Adrian and Julian the apostate, both of them initiated in the mysteries of divination, and skilled in all the depths of magic. I shall only add, that evil spirits cannot be supposed to have concurred in the establishment of a religion, which triumphed over them, drove them out of the places they possessed, and divested them of their influence on mankind; nor would I mention this particular, though it be unanimously reported by all the ancient Christian authors: did it not appear from the authorities above-cited, that this was a fact confessed by heathens themselves.

V. We now see what a multitude of Pagan testimonies may be produced for all those remarkable passages, which might have been expected from them: and, indeed, of several, that, I believe, do more than answer

your expectation, as they were not subjects in their own nature so exposed to public notoriety. It cannot be expected they should mention particulars, which were transacted amongst the disciples only, or among some few even of the disciples themselves; such as the transfiguration, the agony in the garden, the appearance of Christ after his resurrection, and others of the like nature. It was impossible for a heathen author to relate these things; because if he had believed them, he would no longer have been a heathen, and by that means his testimony would not have been thought of so much validity. Besides, his very report of facts so favourable to Christianity would have prompted men to say that he was probably tainted with their doctrine. We have a parallel case in Hecatæus, a famous Greek historian, who had several passages in his book conformable to the history of the Jewish writers, which, when quoted by Josephus, as a confirmation of the Jewish history, when his heathen adversaries could give no other answer to it, they would need suppose that Hecatæus was a Jew in his heart, though they had no other reason for it, but because his history gave greater authority to the Jewish than the Egyptian records.

SECTION III.

I. *Introduction to a second list of Pagan authors, who give testimony of our Saviour.*
II. *A passage concerning our Saviour from a learned Athenian.*
III. *His conversion from Paganism to Christianity makes his evidence stronger than if he had continued a Pagan.*
IV. *Of another Athenian philosopher converted to Christianity.*
V. *Why their conversion, instead of weakening, strengthens their evidence in defence of Christianity.*
VI. *Their belief of our Saviour's history founded at first upon the principles of historical faith.*
VII. *Their testimonies extended to all the particulars of our Saviour's history.*
VIII. *As related by the four evangelists.*

I. To this list of heathen writers, who make mention of our Saviour, or touch upon any particulars of his life, I shall add those authors who were at first heathens, and

afterwards converted to Christianity; upon which account, as I shall here shew, their testimonies are to be looked upon as the more authentic. And in this list of evidences, I shall confine myself to such learned Pagans as came over to Christianity in the three first centuries, because those were the times in which men had the best means of informing themselves of the truth of our Saviour's history, and because among the great number of philosophers who came in afterwards, under the reigns of Christian emperors, there might be several who did it partly out of worldly motives.

II. Let us now suppose, that a learned heathen writer who lived within 60 years of our Saviour's crucifixion, after having shewn that false miracles were generally wrought in obscurity, and before few or no witnesses, speaking of those which were wrought by our Saviour, has the following passage: "But his works were always seen, because they were true, they were seen by those who were healed, and by those who were raised from the dead. Nay, these persons, who were thus healed and raised, were seen not only at the time of their being healed and raised, but long afterwards. Nay, they were seen not only all the while our Saviour was upon earth, but survived after his departure out of this world, nay some of them were living in our days."

III. I dare say you would look upon this as a glorious attestation for the cause of Christianity, had it come from the hand of a famous Athenian philosopher. These forementioned words, however, are actually the words of one who lived about sixty years after our Saviour's crucifixion, and was a famous philosopher in Athens: but it will be said, he was a convert to Christianity. Now consider this matter impartially, and see if his testimony is not much more valid for that reason. Had he continued a Pagan philosopher, would not the world have said that he was not sincere in what he writ, or did not believe it; for, if so, would not they have told us he would have embraced Christianity? This was indeed the case of this excellent man: he had so thoroughly examined the truth of our Saviour's his-

tory, and the excellency of that religion which he taught, and was so entirely convinced of both, that he became a proselyte, and died a martyr.

IV. Aristides was an Athenian philosopher, at the same time, famed for his learning and wisdom, but converted to Christianity. As it cannot be questioned that he perused and approved the apology of Quadratus, in which is the passage just now cited, he joined with him in an apology of his own, to the same emperor, on the same subject. This apology, though now lost, was extant in the time of Ado Viennensis, A. D. 870, and highly esteemed by the most learned Athenians, as that author witnesses. It must have contained great arguments for the truth of our Saviour's history, because in it he asserted the divinity of our Saviour, which could not but engage him in the proof of his miracles.

V. I do allow that, generally speaking, a man is not so acceptable and unquestioned an evidence in facts, which make for the advancement of his own party. But we must consider that, in the case before us, the persons, to whom we appeal, were of an opposite party, till they were persuaded of the truth of those very facts which they report. They bear evidence to a history in defence of Christianity, the truth of which history was their motive to embrace Christianity. They attest facts which they had heard while they were yet heathens, and had they not found reason to believe them, they would still have continued heathens, and have made no mention of them in their writings.

VI. When a man is born under Christian parents, and trained up in the profession of that religion from a child, he generally guides himself by the rules of Christian faith in believing what is delivered by the Evangelists; but the learned Pagans of antiquity, before they became Christians, were only guided by the common rules of historical faith: that is, they examined the nature of the evidence which was to be met with in common fame, tradition, and the writings of those persons who related them, together with the number, concurrence, veracity, and private characters of those persons;

and being convinced, upon all accounts, that they had the same reason to believe the history of our Saviour, as that of any other person to which they themselves were not actually eye-witnesses, they were bound by all the rules of historical faith, and of right reason, to give credit to this history. This they did accordingly, and in consequence of it published the same truths themselves, suffered many afflictions, and very often death itself, in the assertion of them. When I say, that an historical belief of the acts of our Saviour induced these learned Pagans to embrace his doctrine, I do not deny that there were many other motives, which conduced to it, as the excellency of his precepts, the fulfilling of prophecies, the miracles of his disciples, the irreproachable lives and magnanimous sufferings of their followers, with other considerations of the same nature: but whatever other collateral arguments wrought more or less with philosophers of that age, it is certain that a belief in the history of our Saviour was one motive with every new convert, and that upon which all others turned, as being the very basis and foundation of Christianity.

VII. To this I must further add, that as we have already seen many particular facts which are recorded in holy writ, attested by particular Pagan authors: the testimony of those I am now going to produce, extends to the whole history of our Saviour, and to that continued series of actions, which are related of him and his disciples in the books of the New Testament.

VIII. This evidently appears from their quotations out of the Evangelists, for the confirmation of any doctrine or account of our blessed Saviour. Nay, a learned man of our nation, who examined the writings of the most ancient fathers in another view, refers to several passages in Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, and Cyprian, by which he plainly shows that each of these early writers ascribe to the four Evangelists by name their respective histories; so that there is not the least room for doubting of their belief in the history of our Saviour, as recorded in the Gospels. I shall only add, that three of the five fathers

here mentioned, and probably four, were Pagans converted to Christianity, as they were all of them very inquisitive and deep in[a] the knowledge of heathen learning and philosophy.

SECTION IV.

I. *Character of the times in which the Christian religion was propagated:*
II. *And of many who embraced it.*
III. *Three eminent and early instances.*
IV. *Multitudes of learned men who came over to it.*
V. *Belief in our Saviour's history, the first motive to their conversion.*
VI. *The names of several Pagan philosophers, who were Christian converts.*

I. It happened very providentially to[b] the honour of the Christian religion, that it did not take its rise in the dark illiterate ages of the world, but at a time when arts and sciences were at their height, and when there were men who made it the business of their lives to search after truth, and sift the several opinions of philosophers and wise men, concerning the duty, the end, and chief happiness of reasonable creatures.

II. Several of these, therefore, when they had informed themselves of our Saviour's history, and examined with unprejudiced minds the doctrines and manners of his disciples and followers, were so struck and convinced, that they professed themselves of that sect; notwithstanding, by this profession in that juncture of time, they bid[c] farewel to all the pleasures of this life, renounced all the views of ambition, engaged in an un-

[a] *Very inquisitive and deep in*] A small inaccuracy: we say, inquisitive *into* and deep *in*; yet the preposition *in* is made to depend on both those adjectives. The better way had been to put it thus—*as* they were all of them very inquisitive *men* and deep in, &c.

[b] *Providentially to*—rather, *for*.

[c] *Notwithstanding—they bid*] He had just said; *that* sect, and therefore to avoid an ungraceful repetition, he omits *that* after *notwithstanding*, which regularly requires to be followed by the conjunction, *that*.

interrupted course of severities, and exposed themselves to public hatred and contempt, to sufferings of all kinds, and to death itself.

III. Of this sort we may reckon those three early converts to Christianity, who each of them was[a] a member of a senate famous for its wisdom and learning. Joseph the Arimathean was of the Jewish Sanhedrim, Dionysius of the Athenian Areopagus, and Flavius Clemens of the Roman senate; nay, at the time of his death, consul of Rome. These three were so thoroughly satisfied of the truth of the Christian religion, that the first of them, according to all the reports of antiquity, died a martyr for it; as did the second, unless we disbelieve Aristides, his fellow-citizen and contemporary; and the third, as we are informed both by Roman and Christian authors.

IV. Among those innumerable multitudes, who in most of the known nations of the world came over to Christianity at its first appearance, we may be sure there were great numbers of wise and learned men, beside those whose names are in the Christian records, who without doubt took care to examine the truth of our Saviour's history, before they would leave the religion of their country and of their forefathers, for the sake of one that would not only cut them off from the allurements of this world, but subject them to every thing terrible or disagreeable in it. Tertullian tells the Roman governors, that their corporations, councils, armies, tribes, companies, the palace, senate, and courts of judicature, were filled with Christians; as Arnobius asserts, that men of the finest parts and learning, orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, physicians, philosophers, despising the sentiments they had been once fond of, took up their rest in the Christian religion.

V. Who can imagine that men of this character did not thoroughly inform themselves of the history of that

[a] *Those three—who each of them was*]—carelessly expressed, for—*each of whom was.*

person, whose doctrines they embraced? for, however consonant to reason his precepts appeared, how good soever were the effects which they produced in the world, nothing could have tempted men to acknowledge him as their God and Saviour, but their being firmly persuaded of the miracles he wrought, and the many attestations of his divine mission, which were to be met with in the history of his life. This was the ground-work of the Christian religion, and, if this failed, the whole superstructure sunk with it. This point, therefore, of the truth of our Saviour's history, as recorded by the Evangelists, is every where taken for granted in the writings of those, who from Pagan philosophers became Christian authors, and who, by reason of their conversion, are to be looked upon as of the strongest collateral testimony for the truth of what[a] is delivered concerning our Saviour.

VI. Besides innumerable authors that are lost, we have the undoubted names, works, or fragments, of several Pagan philosophers, which shew them to have been as learned as any unconverted heathen authors of the age in which they lived. If we look into the greatest nurseries of learning in those ages of the world, we find in Athens, Dionysius, Quadratus, Aristides, Athenagoras; and in Alexandria, Dionysius, Clemens, Ammonius, Arnobius, and Anatolius, to whom we may add Origen; for though his father was a Christian martyr, he became, without all controversy, the most learned and able philosopher of his age, by his education at Alexandria, in that famous seminary of arts and sciences.

[a] *And who, by reason of their conversion, are to be looked upon as of the strongest collateral testimony for the truth of what,* &c.] It should either be—*as giving the strongest collateral testimony to*—or else—*whose conversion is to be looked upon as of the strongest collateral testimony, for the truth,* &c.—i. e. as an *instance* of the *strongest* collateral testimony, *that can be brought for the truth.*—This way of expression is sometimes used, though very elliptical.

SECTION VIII.

I. *The completion of our Saviour's prophecies confirmed Pagans in their belief of the gospel.*
II. *Origen's observation on that of his disciples being brought before kings and governors;*
III. *On their being persecuted for their religion;*
IV. *On their preaching the gospel to all nations;*
V. *On the destruction of Jerusalem, and ruin of the Jewish economy.*
VI. *These arguments strengthened by what has happened since Origen's time.*

I. THE second of those extraordinary means, of great use to the learned and inquisitive Pagans of the three first centuries, for evincing the truth of the history of our Saviour, was the completion of such prophecies as are recorded of him in the Evangelists. They could not, indeed, form any arguments from what he foretold, and was fulfilled during his life, because both the prophecy and the completion were over before they were published by the Evangelists; though, as Origen observes, what end could there be in forging some of these predictions, as that of St. Peter's denying his master, and all his disciples forsaking him in the greatest extremity, which reflects so much shame on the great apostle, and on all his companions? Nothing but a strict adherence to truth, and to matters of fact, could have prompted the Evangelists to relate a circumstance so disadvantageous to their own reputation; as that father has well observed.

II. But to pursue his reflections on this subject. There are predictions of our Saviour recorded by the Evangelists, which were not completed till after their deaths, and had no likelihood of being so, when they were pronounced by our blessed Saviour. Such was that wonderful notice he gave them, that they should be brought before governors and kings for his sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles, Mat. x. 28, with the other like prophecies, by which he foretold

that his disciples were to be persecuted. Is there any other doctrine in the world, says this father, whose followers are punished? Can the enemies of Christ say, that he knew his opinions were false and impious, and that, therefore, he might well conjecture and foretell what would be the treatment of those persons who should embrace them? Supposing his doctrines were really such, why should this be the consequence? what likelihood that men should be brought before kings and governors for opinions and tenets of any kind, when this never happened even to the Epicureans, who absolutely denied a Providence; nor to the Peripateticks themselves, who laughed at the prayers and sacrifices which were made to the divinity?[a] Are there any but the Christians who, according to this prediction of our Saviour, being brought before kings and governors for his sake, are pressed to their latest gasp of breath, by their respective judges, to renounce Christianity, and to procure their liberty and rest, by offering the same sacrifices, and taking the same oaths that others did?

III. Consider the time when our Saviour pronounced those words, Matt. x. 32. 'Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.' Had you heard him speak after this manner, when as yet his disciples were under no such trials, you would certainly have said within yourself, if these speeches of Jesus are true, and if, according to his prediction, governors and kings undertake to ruin and destroy those who shall profess themselves his disciples, we will believe (not only that he is a prophet) but that he has received

[a] A material and obvious difference, in the two cases, is here overlooked. The Epicureans and Peripateticks might take these liberties in private, or in their philosophic systems; but if either had gone about among the people, with the zeal of the Christian martyrs, to overturn the established religions, they would probably have shared their fate: and a wise man might easily have foreseen this consequence.

power from God sufficient to preserve and propagate his religion; and that he would never talk in such a peremptory and discouraging manner, were he not assured that he was able to subdue the most powerful opposition, that could be made against the faith and doctrine which he taught.

IV. Who is not struck with admiration, when he represents to himself our Saviour at that time fortelling, that his gospel should be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations,[a] or, as St. Origen, (who rather quotes the sense than the words) to serve for a conviction to kings and people, when at the same time he finds that his gospel has accordingly been preached to Greeks and Barbarians, to the learned and to the ignorant, and that there is no quality or condition of life able to exempt men from submitting to the doctrine of Christ? As for us, says this great author, in another part of his book against Celsus, "when we see every day those events exactly accomplished which our Saviour foretold at so great a distance: that his gospel is preached in all the world, Matthew xxiv. 14. That his disciples go and teach all nations, Matthew xxviii. 19. And that those who have received his doctrine, are brought for his sake before governors, and before kings, Matthew x. 18, we are filled with admiration, and our faith in him is confirmed more and more. What clearer and stronger proofs can Celsus ask for the truth of what he spoke?".

V. Origen insists, likewise, with great strength, on that wonderful prediction of our Saviour, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, pronounced at a time, as he observes, when there was no likelihood nor appearance of it. This has been taken notice of and inculcated by so many others, that I shall refer you to what this father has said on the subject in the first book against Celsus. And as to the accomplishment of this remarkable prophecy, shall only observe, that whoever reads the account given us by Josephus, without know-

[a] There is great force in this, and the following consideration.

ing his character, and compares it with what our Saviour foretold, would think the historian had been a Christian, and that he had nothing else in view but to adjust the event to the prediction.

VI. I cannot quit this head without taking notice, that Origen would still have triumphed more in the foregoing arguments, had he lived an age longer, to have seen the Roman emperors, and all their governors and provinces, submitting themselves to the Christian religion, and glorying in its profession, as so many kings and sovereigns still place their relation to Christ at the head of their titles.

How much greater confirmation of his faith would he have received, had he seen our Saviour's prophecy stand good in the destruction of the temple, and the dissolution of the Jewish economy, when Jews and Pagans united all their endeavours, under Julian the apostate, to baffle and falsify the prediction? The great preparations that were made for re-building the temple, with the hurricane, earthquake, and eruptions of fire, that destroyed the work, and terrified those employed in the attempt from proceeding in it, are related by many historians of the same age; and the substance of the story testified both by Pagan and Jewish writers, as Ammianus Marcellinus and Zemath-David. The learned Chrysostome, in a sermon against the Jews, tells them this fact was then fresh in the memories even of their young men, that it happened but twenty years ago, and that it was attested by all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, where they might still see the marks of it in the rubbish of that work, from which the Jews desisted in so great a fright, and which even Julian had not the courage to carry on. This fact, which is in itself so miraculous, and so indisputable, brought over many of the Jews to Christianity; and shows us, that after our Saviour's prophecy against it, the temple could not be preserved from the plough passing over it, by all the care of Titus, who would fain have prevented its destruction, and that instead of being re-edified by Julian, all his endeavours towards it did but still more

literally accomplish our Saviour's prediction, that not one stone should be left upon another.

The ancient Christians were so entirely persuaded of the force of our Saviour's prophecies, and of the punishment which the Jews had drawn upon themselves, and upon their children, for the treatment which the Messiah had received at their hands, that they did not doubt but they would always remain an abandoned and dispersed people, an hissing and an astonishment among the nations, as they are to this day. In short, that they had lost their peculiarity of being God's people, which was now transferred to the body of Christians, and which preserved the Church of Christ among all the conflicts, difficulties, and persecutions, in which it was engaged, as it had preserved the Jewish government and economy for so many ages, whilst it had the same truth and vital principle in it, notwithstanding it was so frequently in danger of being utterly abolished and destroyed. Origen, in his fourth book against Celsus, mentioning their being cast out of Jerusalem, the place to which their worship was annexed, deprived of their temple and sacrifice, their religious rites and solemnities, and scattered over the face of the earth, ventures to assure them with a face of confidence, that they would never be re-established, since they had committed that horrid crime against the Saviour of the world. This was a bold assertion in the good man, who knew how this people had been so wonderfully re-established in former times, when they were almost swallowed up, and in the most desperate state of desolation, as in their deliverance out of the Babylonish captivity, and the oppressions of Antiochus Epiphanes. Nay, he knew that within less than a hundred years before his own time, the Jews had made such a powerful effort for their re-establishment under Barchocab, in the reign of Adrian, as shook the whole Roman empire. But he founded his opinion on a sure word of prophecy, and on the punishment they had so justly incurred; and we find, by a long experience of 1500 years, that

he was not mistaken, nay, that his opinion gathers strength daily, since the Jews are now at a greater distance from any probability of such a re-establishment, than they were when Origen wrote.

SECTION IX.

I. *The lives of primitive Christians, another means of bringing learned Pagans into their religion.*
II. *The change and reformation of their manners.*
III. *This looked upon as supernatural by the learned Pagans,*
IV. *And strengthened the accounts given of our Saviour's life and history.*
V. *The Jewish prophecies of our Saviour, an argument for the heathens belief:*
VI. *Pursued:*
VII. *Pursued.*

I. THERE was one other means enjoyed by the learned Pagans of the three first centuries, for satisfying them in the truth of our Saviour's history, which I might have flung under one of the foregoing heads; but as it is so shining a particular, and does so much honour to our religion, I shall make a distinct article of it, and only consider it with regard to the subject I am upon. I mean the lives and manners of those holy men, who believed in Christ during the first ages of Christianity. I should be thought to advance a paradox, should I affirm that there were more Christians in the world during those times of persecution, than there are at present in these which we call the flourishing times of Christianity. But this will be found an indisputable truth, if we form our calculation upon the opinions which prevailed in those days, that every one who lives in the habitual practice of any voluntary sin, actually cuts himself off from the benefits and profession of Christianity, and whatever he may call himself, is in reality no Christian, nor ought to be esteemed as such.

II. In the times we are now surveying, the Christian religion showed its full force and efficacy on the minds of

men, and by many examples demonstrated what great and generous souls it was capable of producing. It exalted and refined its proselytes to a very high degree of perfection, and set them far above the pleasures, and even the pains, of this life. It strengthened the infirmity, and broke the fierceness of human nature. It lifted up the minds of the ignorant to the knowledge and worship of him that made them, and inspired the vicious with a rational devotion, a strict purity of heart, and an unbounded love to their fellow-creatures. In proportion as it spread through the world, it seemed to change mankind into another species of beings. No sooner was a convert initiated into it, but by an easy figure he became a new man, and both acted and looked upon himself as one regenerated and born a second time into another state of existence.

III. It is not my business to be more particular in the accounts of primitive Christianity, which have been exhibited so well by others, but rather to observe, that the Pagan converts, of whom I am now speaking, mention this great reformation of those who had been the greatest sinners, with that sudden and surprising change which it made in the lives of the most profligate, as having something in it supernatural, miraculous, and more than human. Origen respresents this power in the Christian religion, as no less wonderful than that of curing the lame and blind, or cleansing the leper. Many others represent it in the same light, and looked upon it as an argument that there was a certain divinity in that religion, which showed itself in such strange and glorious effects.

IV. This, therefore, was a great means, not only of recommending Christianity to honest and learned heathens, but of confirming them in the belief of our Saviour's history, when they saw multitudes of virtuous men daily forming themselves upon his example, animated by his precepts, and actuated by that spirit which he had promised to send among his disciples.

V. But I find no argument made a stronger impression on the minds of these eminent Pagan converts,

for strengthening their faith in the history of our Saviour, than the predictions relating to him in those old prophetic writings, which were deposited among the hands of the greatest enemies to Christianity, and owned by them to have been extant many ages before his appearance. The learned heathen converts were astonished to see the whole history of their Saviour's life published before he was born, and to find that the evangelists and prophets, in their accounts of the Messiah, differed only in point of time, the one foretelling what should happen to him, and the other describing those very particulars as what had actually happened. This our Saviour himself was pleased to make use of as the strongest argument of his being the promised Messiah, and without it would hardly have reconciled his disciples to the ignominy of his death, as in that remarkable passage which mentions his conversation with the two disciples, on the day of his resurrection. St. Luke, chap. xxiv. verse 13, to the end.

VI. The heathen converts, after having travelled through all human learning, and fortified their minds with the knowledge of arts and sciences, were particularly qualified to examine these prophecies with great care and impartiality, and without prejudice or prepossession. If the Jews, on the one side, put an unnatural interpretation on these prophecies, to evade the force of them in their controversies with the Christians; or if the Christians, on the other side, over-strained several passages in their applications of them, as it often happens among men of the best understanding, when their minds are heated with any consideration that bears a more than an ordinary weight with it: the learned heathens may be looked upon as neuters in the matter, when all these prophecies were new to them, and their education had left the interpretation of them free and indifferent. Besides, these learned men among the primitive Christians, knew how the Jews, who had preceded our Saviour, interpreted these predictions, and the several marks by which they acknowledged the Messiah would be discovered; and

how those of the Jewish doctors who succeeded him, had deviated from the interpretations and doctrines of their forefathers, on purpose to stifle their own conviction.

VII. This set of arguments had, therefore, an invincible force with those Pagan philosophers who became Christians, as we find in most of their writings. They could not disbelieve our Saviour's history, which so exactly agreed with every thing that had been written of him many ages before his birth, nor doubt of those circumstances being fulfilled in him, which could not be true of any person that lived in the world besides himself. This wrought the greatest confusion in the unbelieving Jews, and the greatest conviction in the Gentiles, who every where speak with astonishment of these truths they met with in this new magazine of learning which was opened to them, and carry the point so far as to think whatever excellent doctrine they had met with among Pagan writers, had been stole from their conversation with the Jews, or from the perusal of these writings which they had in their custody.

THE

DRUMMER,

OR

THE HAUNTED HOUSE.

A COMEDY.

AS IT IS ACTED AT THE

THEATRE ROYAL, IN DRURY LANE,

BY HIS MAJESTY'S SERVANTS.

———*Falsis terroribus implet*
Ut magus———

HOR.

With a PREFACE by Sir RICHARD STEELE, in an EPISTLE DEDICATORY to Mr. CONGREVE, occasioned by Mr. TICKELL'S PREFACE to the four Volumes of Mr. ADDISON'S Works.

TO

MR. CONGREVE,

OCCASIONED BY

MR. TICKELL'S PREFACE

TO THE

FOUR VOLUMES OF MR. ADDISON's WORKS.

SIR,

THIS is the second time that I have, without your leave, taken the liberty to make a public address to you. However uneasy you may be, for your own sake, in receiving compliments of this nature, I depend upon your known humanity for pardon, when I acknowledge, that you have this present trouble for mine. When I take myself to be ill-treated with regard to my behaviour to the merit of other men, my conduct towards you is an argument of my candour that way, as well as that your name and authority will be my protection in it. You will give me leave, therefore, in a matter that concerns us in the poetical world, to make you my judge, whether I am not injured in

the highest manner; for with men of your taste and delicacy, it is a high crime and misdemeanour to be guilty of any thing that is disingenuous: but I will go into the matter.

Upon my return out of Scotland, I visited Mr. Tonson's shop, and thanked him for his care in sending to my house the volumes of my dear and honoured friend, Mr. ADDISON, which are at last published by his secretary, Mr. Tickell; but took occasion to observe, that I had not seen the work before it came out, which he did not think fit to excuse any otherwise than by a recrimination, that I had put into his hands at an high price, 'A Comedy called The Drummer;' which, by my zeal for it, he took to be written by Mr. Addison, and of which, after his death, he said I directly acknowledged he was the author. To urge this hardship still more home, he produced a receipt under my hand in these words:

"*March* 12, 1715.

"Received then the sum of fifty guineas for the copy of the comedy called, The Drummer, or the Haunted House. I say received by order of the author of the said comedy.

"RICHARD STEELE."

And added, at the same time, that since Mr. Tickell had not thought fit to make that play a part of Mr. Addison's Works, he would sell the copy to any bookseller that would give most for it.

This is represented thus circumstantially, to shew how incumbent it is upon me, as well in justice to the bookseller, as for many other considerations, to produce this comedy a second time, and take this occasion to vindicate myself against certain insinuations thrown out by the publisher of Mr. Addison's writings, concerning my behaviour in the nicest circumstance, that of doing justice to the merit of my friend.

I shall take the liberty, before I have ended this letter, to say, why I believe the Drummer a performance of Mr. Addison: and after I have declared this, any surviving writer may be at ease, if there be any one who has hitherto been vain enough to hope, or silly enough to fear it may be given to himself.

Before I go any further, I must make my public appeal to you and all the learned world, and humbly demand, whether it was a decent or reasonable thing, that works written (as a great part of Mr. Addison's were) in correspondence with me, ought to have been published without my review of the catalogue of them; or if there were any exception to be made against any circumstance in my conduct, whether an opportunity to explain myself should not have been allowed me before any reflections were made upon me in print.

When I had perused Mr. Tickell's preface, I had soon many objections, besides his omission to say any thing of the Drummer, against his long expected performance. The chief intention of which, and which it

concerns me first to examine, seems to aim at doing the deceased author justice against me, whom he insinuates to have assumed to myself part of the merit of my friend.

He is pleased, sir, to express himself concerning the present writer in the following manner:

[a] 'The comedy called, The Tender Husband, appeared much about the same time, to which Mr. Addison wrote the Prologue. Sir Richard Steele surprised him with a very handsome dedication of this play, and has since acquainted the public, that he owed some of the most taking scenes of it to Mr. Addison.'

[b] 'He was in that kingdom, [Ireland] when he first discovered Sir Richard Steele to be the author of the Tatler, by an observation upon Virgil, which had been by him communicated to his friend. The assistance he occasionally gave him afterwards in the course of the paper, did not a little contribute to advance its reputation; and, upon the change of the ministry, he found leisure to engage more constantly in that work, which, however, was dropt at last, as it had been taken up, without his participation.

'In the last paper, which closed those celebrated performances, and in the preface to the last volume, Sir Richard Steele has given to Mr. Addison the honour

[a] Mr. Tickell's Preface, page 11. [b] Page 12.

of the most applauded pieces in that collection. But as that acknowledgment was delivered only in general terms, without directing the public to the several papers; Mr. Addison, who was content with the praise arising from his own works, and too delicate to take any part of that which belonged to others, afterwards thought fit to distinguish his writings in the Spectators and Guardians by such marks as might remove the least possibility of mistake in the most undiscerning readers. It was necessary that his share in the Tatlers should be adjusted in a complete collection of his works; for which reason Sir Richard Steele, in compliance with the request of his deceased friend, delivered to him by the editor, was pleased to mark with his own hand those Tatlers which are inserted in this edition, and even to point out several, in the writing of which they both were concerned.'

[a] 'The plan of the Spectator, as far as it regards the feigned person of the author, and of the several characters that compose his club, was projected in concert with Sir Richard Steele; and, because many passages in the course of the work, would otherwise be obscure, I have taken leave to insert one single paper, written by Sir Richard Steele, wherein those characters are drawn which may serve as a *Dramatis Personæ*, or as so many pictures for an ornament and explication of the whole. As for the distinct papers, they were never or seldom shown to each other by their respective authors, who fully answered the promise they had

[a] Page 13.

made, and far out-went the expectation they had raised of pursuing their labour in the same spirit and strength, with which it was begun.'

It need not be explained, that it is here intimated, that I had not sufficiently acknowledged what was due to Mr. Addison in these writings. I shall make a full answer to what seems intended by the words, 'He was too delicate to take any part of that which belonged to others,' if I can recite out of my own papers, any thing that may make it appear groundless.

The subsequent encomiums bestowed by me on Mr. Addison, will, I hope, be of service to me in this particular.

[a] 'But I have only one gentleman, 'who will be nameless,' to thank for any frequent assistance to me; which, indeed, it would have been barbarous in him to have denied to one with whom he has lived in an intimacy from childhood, considering the great ease with which he is able to dispatch the most entertaining pieces of this nature. This good office he performed with such force of genius, humour, wit, and learning, that I fared like a distressed prince who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid; I was undone by my auxiliary: when I had once called him in, I could not subsist without dependance on him.

'The same hand writ the distinguishing characters

[a] Preface to the 4th vol. of the Tatlers.

of men and women, under the names of Musical Instruments, the Distress of the News-Writers, the Inventory of the Play-house, and the Description of the Thermometer, which I cannot but look upon as the greatest embellishments of this work.'

[a] 'As to the work itself, the acceptance it has met with is the best proof of its value; but I should err against that candor which an honest man should always carry about him, if I did not own, that the most approved pieces in it were written by others, and those, which have been most excepted against, by myself. The hand that has assisted me in those noble discourses upon the immortality of the soul, the glorious prospects of another life, and the most sublime ideas of religion and virtue, is a person who is too fondly my friend ever to own them: but I should little deserve to be his, if I usurped the glory of them. I must acknowledge, at the same time, that I think the finest strokes of wit and humour, in all Mr. Bickerstaff's lucubrations, are those for which he is also beholden to him.'

[b] 'I hope the apology I have made as to the license allowable to a feigned character, may excuse any thing which has been said in these discourses of the SPECTATOR and his works. But the imputation of the grossest vanity would still dwell upon me, if I did not give some account by what means I was enabled to keep up the spirit of so long and approved a performance. All the papers marked with a C, L, I, or O;

[a] Tatler, No. 271. [b] Spectator, No. 555.

that is to say, all the papers which I have distinguished by any letter in the name of the muse CLIO, were given me by the gentleman, of whose assistance I formerly boasted in the preface and concluding leaf of the Tatler. I am, indeed, much more proud of his long-continued friendship, than I should be of the fame of being thought the author of any writings which he himself is capable of producing. I remember when I finished the Tender Husband, I told him, there was nothing I so ardently wish'd as that we might some time or other publish a work written by us both, which should bear the name of the Monument, in memory of our friendship. I heartily wish what I have done here, were as honorary to that sacred name, as learning, wit, and humanity, render those pieces which I have taught the reader how to distinguish for his. When the play above-mentioned was last acted, there were so many applauded strokes in it, which I had from the same hand, that I thought very meanly of myself that I had never publicly acknowledged them. After I have put other friends upon importuning him to publish dramatic, as well as other writings he has by him, I shall end what I think I am obliged to say on this head, by giving my reader this hint for the better judging of my productions, that the best comment upon them, would be an account when the patron to the Tender Husband was in England or abroad.

[a] 'My purpose, in this application, is only to shew the esteem I have for you, and that I look upon my in-

[a] Dedication before the Tender Husband.

timacy with you as one of the most valuable enjoyments of my life.'

I am sure, you have read my quotations with indignation against the little zeal which prompted the editor, who, by the way, has in himself done nothing in applause of the works which he prefaces, to the mean endeavours of adding to Mr. Addison, by disparaging a man who had, for the greatest part of his life, been his known bosom friend, and shielded him from all the resentments which many of his own works would have brought upon him at the time in which they were written. It is really a good office to society, to expose the indiscretion of intermeddlers in the friendship and correspondence of men, whose sentiments, passions, and resentments, are too great for their proportion of soul: could the editor's indiscretion provoke me even so far as within the rules of strictest honour I could go, and I were not restrained by supererogatory affection to dear Mr. Addison, I would ask this unskilful creature what he means, when he speaks in the air of a reproach, that the Tatler was laid down as it was taken up, without his participation; let him speak out and say, why, 'without his knowledge,' would not serve his purpose as well. If, as he says, he restrains himself to Mr. Addison's character, as a writer, while he attempts to lessen me, he exalts me; for he has declared to all the world, what I never have so explicitly done, that I am, to all intents and purposes, the author of the Tatler. He very justly says, the occasional assistance Mr. Addison gave me in the course of that paper, 'did not a little contribute to advance its reputation, especially

when, upon the change of the ministry, he found leisure to engage more constantly in it.' It was advanced, indeed, for it was raised to a greater thing than I intended it: for the elegance, purity, and correctness which appeared in his writings, were not so much my purpose, as in any intelligible manner as I could, to rally all those singularities of human life, through the different professions and characters in it, which obstruct any thing that was truly good and great. After this acknowledgment you will see, that is, such a man as you will see, that I rejoiced in being excelled, and made those little talents, whatever they are which I have, give way and be subservient to the superior qualities of a friend whom I loved, and whose modesty would never have admitted them to come into day-light but under such a shelter. So that all which the editor has said, either out of design or incapacity, Mr. Congreve must determine to end in this, that Steele has been so candid and upright, that he owes nothing to Mr. Addison, as a writer; but whether he does, or does not, whatever Steele owes to Mr. Addison, the public owes Addison to Steele. But the editor has such a fantastical, and ignorant zeal for his patron, that he won't allow his correspondents to conceal any thing of his, though in obedience to his commands. What I never did declare was Mr. Addison's, I had his direct injunctions to hide, against the natural warmth and passion of my own temper towards my friends. Many of the writings now published as his, I have been very patiently traduced and calumniated for, as they were pleasantries and oblique strokes upon certain the wittiest men of the age, who will now

restore me to their good-will, in proportion to the abatement of wit which they thought I employed against them. But I was saying, that the editor won't allow us to obey his patron's commands in any thing which he thinks would redound to his credit, if discovered. And because I would shew a little wit in my anger, I shall have the discretion to shew you, that he has been guilty in this particular towards a much greater man than your humble servant, and one whom you are more obliged to vindicate. Mr. Dryden in his Virgil, after having acknowledged, that a 'certain excellent young man' had shewed him many faults in his translation of Virgil, which he had endeavoured to correct, goes on to say, 'Two other worthy friends of mine, who desire to have their names concealed, seeing me straitened in my time, took pity on me, and gave me the life of Virgil, the two prefaces to the Pastorals, and the Georgics, and all the arguments in prose to the whole translation.' If Mr. Addison is one of the two friends, and the preface to the Georgics be what the editor calls the essay upon the Georgics, as one may adventure to say they are, from their being word for word the same, he has cast an inhuman reflection upon Mr. Dryden, who, though tied down not to name Mr. Addison, pointed at him, so as all mankind conversant in these matters knew him, with an eulogium equal to the highest merit, considering who it was that bestowed it. I could not avoid remarking upon this circumstance, out of justice to Mr. Dryden, but confess at the same time I took a great pleasure in doing it, because I knew in exposing this outrage, I made my court to Mr. Congreve.

I have observed that the editor will not let me or any one else obey Mr. Addison's commands, in hiding any thing he desires should be concealed. I cannot but take further notice, that the circumstance of marking his Spectators, which I did not know till I had done with the work, I made my own act; because I thought it too great a sensibility in my friend, and thought it, since it was done, better to be supposed marked by me than the author himself; the real state of which this zealot rashly and injudiciously exposes. I ask the reader whether any thing but an earnestness to disparage me, could provoke the editor in behalf of Mr. Addison to say, that he marked it, out of caution against me, when I had taken upon me to say, it was I that did it, out of tenderness to him.

As the imputation of any the least attempt of arrogating to myself, or detracting from Mr. Addison, is without any colour of truth, you will give me leave to go on in the same ardour towards him, and resent the cold, unaffectionate, dry, and barren manner in which this gentleman gives an account of as great a benefactor, as any one learned man ever had of another. Would any man, who had been produced from a college life, and pushed into one of the most considerable employments of the kingdom as to its weight and trust, and greatly lucrative with respect to a fellowship, and who had been daily and hourly with one of the greatest men of the age, be satisfied with himself in saying nothing of such a person, besides what all the world knew, except a particularity, and that to his disadvantage, which I, his friend from a boy,

don't know to be true, to wit, 'that he never had a regular pulse!' As for the facts and considerable periods of his life, he either knew nothing of them, or injudiciously places them in a worse light than that in which they really stood. When he speaks of Mr. Addison's declining to go into orders, his way of doing it is, to lament that his seriousness and modesty, which might have recommended him, 'proved the chief obstacles to it; it seems, these qualities, by which the priesthood is so much adorned, represented the duties of it as too weighty for him, and rendered him still more worthy of that honour which they made him decline.' These, you knew very well, were not the reasons which made Mr. Addison turn his thoughts to the civil world: and as you were the instrument of his becoming acquainted with my Lord Hallifax, I doubt not but you remember the warm instances that noble lord made to the head of the college not to insist upon Mr. Addison's going into orders; his arguments were founded upon the general pravity and corruption of men of business, who wanted liberal education. And I remember, as if I had read the letter yesterday, that my lord ended with a compliment, that however he might be represented as no friend to the church, he never would do it any other injury than keeping Mr. Addison out of it. The contention for this man in his early youth among the people of greatest power, Mr. Secretary Tickell, the executor for his fame, is pleased to ascribe to a serious visage and modesty of behaviour. When a writer is grossly and essentially faulty, it were a jest to take notice of a false expression or a phrase; otherwise priesthood in that place might be observed

upon as a term not used by the real well-wishers to clergymen, except when they would express some solemn act, and not when that order is spoke of as a profession among gentlemen: I will not, therefore, busy myself about 'the unconcerning parts of knowledge, but be contented like a reader of plain sense without politeness:' and, since Mr. Secretary will give us no account of this gentleman, 'I admit the Alps and Apennines, instead of his editor, to be commentators' of his works, which, as the editor says, 'have raised a demand for correctness;' this demand, by the way, ought to be more strong upon those who were most about him, and had the greatest advantage of 'his example.' But our editor says, 'that those who come the nearest to exactness, are but too often fond of unnatural beauties, and aim at something better than perfection.' Believe me, sir, Mr. Addison's example will carry no man further than that height for which nature capacitated him: and the affectation of following great men in works above the genius of their imitators, will never rise further than the production of uncommon and unsuitable ornaments in a barren discourse, like flowers upon an heath, such as the author's phrase of something better than perfection: but, indeed, his preface, if ever any thing was, is that something better, for it is so extraordinary, that we cannot say, it is too long or too short, or deny but that it is both. I think I abstract myself from all manner of prejudice, when I aver that no man, though without any obligation to Mr. Addison, would have represented him in his family, in his friendships, or his personal character, so disadvantageously, as his secretary, in preference

of whom he incurred the warmest resentments of other gentlemen, has been pleased to describe him in those particulars.

Mr. Dean Addison, father of this memorable man, left behind him four children, each of whom for excellent talents and singular perfections was as much above the ordinary world, as their brother Joseph was above them. Were things of this nature to be exposed to public view, I could shew, under the dean's own hand, in the warmest terms, his blessing on the friendship between his son and me; nor had he a child who did not prefer me in the first place of kindness and esteem, as their father loved me like one of them: and I can with great pleasure say, I never omitted any opportunity of shewing that zeal for their persons and interests as became a gentleman and a friend. Were I now to indulge myself, I could talk a great deal to you, which I am sure would be entertaining; but as I am speaking at the same time to all the world, I considered it would be impertinent: let me, then, confine myself a while to the following play, which I at first recommended to the stage, and carried to the press: no one who reads the preface which I published with it, will imagine I could be induced to say so much as I then did, had I not known the man I best loved had had a part in it, or had I believed that any other concerned had much more to do than as an amanuensis.

But, indeed, had I not known, at the time of the transaction, concerning the acting on the stage and

sale of the copy, I should, I think, have seen Mr. Addison in every page of it; for he was above all men in that talent we call humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him apart from all the world, that I had had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature heightened with humour, more exquisite and delightful than any other man ever possessed.

They who shall read this play after being let into the secret, that it was writ by Mr. Addison, or under his direction, will probably be attentive to those excellencies, which they before overlooked, and wonder they did not till now observe, that there is not an expression in the whole piece which has not in it the most nice propriety and aptitude to the character which utters it; there is that smiling mirth, that delicate satire, and genteel raillery, which appeared in Mr. Addison when he was free among intimates; I say, when he was free from 'his remarkable' bashfulness, which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit; and his abilities were covered only by modesty, which doubles the beauties which are seen, and gives credit and esteem to all that are concealed.

The Drummer made no great figure on the stage, though exquisitely well acted; but when I observe this, I say a much harder thing of the stage than of the comedy. When I say the stage in this place, I am understood to mean in general the present taste of theatrical representations, where nothing that is not

violent, and, as I may say, grossly delightful, can come on without hazard of being condemned, or slighted. It is here republished, and recommended as a closet-piece, to recreate an intelligent mind in a vacant hour; for vacant the reader must be from every strong prepossession, in order to relish an entertainment *(quod nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum)* which cannot be enjoyed to the degree it deserves, but by those of the most polite taste among scholars, the best breeding among gentlemen, and the least acquainted with sensual pleasure among ladies.

The editor is pleased to relate concerning Cato, that a play under that design was projected by the author very early, and wholly laid aside; in advanced years he re-assumed the same design, and many years after four acts were finished, he writ the fifth, and brought it upon the stage. All the town knows how officious I was in bringing it on; and you that know the town, the theatre, and mankind, very well can judge how necessary it was to take measures for making a performance of that sort, excellent as it is, run into popular applause. I promised before it was acted, and performed my duty accordingly to the author, that I would bring together so just an audience on the first days of it, that it should be impossible for the vulgar to put its success or due applause to any hazard; but I don't mention this only to shew, how good an aid-de-camp I was to Mr. Addison, but to shew also that the editor does as much to cloud the merit of this work as I did to set it forth: Mr. Tickell's account of its being taken up, laid down, and at last perfected, after such long intervals and pauses, would make any one believe,

who did not know Mr. Addison, that it was accomplished with the greatest pain and labour, and the issue rather of learning and industry, than capacity and genius; but I do assure you, that never play, which could bring the author any reputation for wit and conduct, notwithstanding it was so long before it was finished, employed the author so little a time in writing: if I remember right, the fifth act was written in less than a week's time; for this was particular in this writer, that when he had taken his resolution, or made his plan for what he designed to write, he would walk about a room and dictate it into language with as much freedom and ease as any one could write it down, and attend to the coherence and grammar of what he dictated. I have been often thus employed by him, and never took it into my head, though he only spoke it, and I took all the pains of throwing it upon paper, that I ought to call myself the writer of it. I will put all my credit among men of wit for the truth of my averment, when I presume to say, that no one but Mr. Addison was in any other way the writer of the Drummer; at the same time I will allow, that he sent for me, which he could always do, from his natural power over me, as much as he could send for any of his clerks when he was secretary of state, and told me that "a gentleman then in the room had written a play that he was sure I would like, but it was to be a secret, and he knew I would take as much pains, since he recommended it, as I would for him."

I hope, no body will be wronged or think himself aggrieved, that I give this rejected work where I do; and if a certain gentleman is injured by it, I

will allow I have wronged him, upon this issue, that (if the reputed translator of the first book of Homer shall please to give us another book) there shall appear another good judge in poetry, besides Mr. Alexander Pope, who shall like it. But I detain you too long upon things that are too personal to myself, and will defer giving the world a true notion of the character and talents of Mr. Addison, till I can speak of that amiable gentleman on an occasion void of controversy: I shall then, perhaps, say many things of him, which will be new even to you, with regard to him in all parts of his character; for which I was so zealous, that I could not be contented with praising and adorning him as much as lay in my own power, but was ever soliciting and putting my friends upon the same office. And since the editor has adorned his heavy discourse with prose in rhyme at the end of it upon Mr. Addison's death, give me leave to atone for this long and tedious epistle, by giving you after it what I dare say you will esteem an excellent poem on his marriage. I must conclude without satisfying as strong a desire as ever man had, of saying something remarkably handsome to the person to whom I am writing; for you are so good a judge, that you would find out the endeavourer to be witty: and, therefore, as I have tired you and myself, I will be contented with assuring you, which I do very honestly, I had rather have you satisfied with me on this subject, than any other man living.

You will please to pardon me, that I have, thus, laid this nice affair before a person who has the acknowledged superiority to all others, not only in the most

excellent talents, but possessing them with an equanimity, candour, and benevolence, which render those advantages a pleasure as great to the rest of the world, as they can be to the owner of them. And since fame consists in the opinion of wise and good men, you must not blame me for taking the readiest way to baffle an attempt upon my reputation, by an address to one whom every wise and good man looks upon with the greatest affection and veneration. I am,

SIR,

Your most obliged,

Most obedient, and

Most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

TO THE

COUNTESS OF WARWICK,

ON

HER MARRIAGE.

BY MR. WELSTED.

AMBITION long has woman's heart betray'd,
And tinsel grandeur caught th' unwary maid;
The pompous styles, that strike th' admiring throng,
Have glitter'd in the eye of beauty long:
You, madam, first the female taste improve,
And give your fellow-charmers laws for love;
A pomp you covet, not to heralds known,
And sigh for virtues equal to your own;
Part in a man immortal greatly claim,
And frown on titles to ally with fame:
Not Edward's star, emboss'd with silver rays,
Can vie in glory with thy consort's bays;
His country's pride does homage to thy charms,
And every merit crowds into thy arms.

While others gain light conquests by their eyes,
'Tis thine with wisdom to subdue the wise;
To their soft chains while courtly beaux submit,
'Tis thine to lead in triumph captive wit:
Her sighing vassals let Clarinda boast,
Of lace and languishing cockades the toast;

In beauty's pride unenvied let her reign,
And share that wanton empire with the vain.
For thee the arts of Greece and Rome combine;
And all the glories, Cato gain'd, are thine:
Still Warwick in thy boasted rank of life,
But more illustrious, than when Warwick's wife.

Come forth, reveal thyself, thou chosen bride,
And shew great Nassau's poet by thy side;
Thy bright example shall instruct the fair,
And future nymphs shall make renown their care;
Embroid'ry less shall charm the virgin's eye,
And kind coquettes, for plumes, less frequent die;
Secure shall beauty reign, the Muse its guard;
The Muse shall triumph, beauty its reward.

PREFACE.

HAVING recommended this play to the town, and delivered the copy of it to the bookseller, I think myself obliged to give some account of it.

It had been some years in the hands of the author, and falling under my perusal, I thought so well of it, that I persuaded him to make some additions and alterations to it, and let it appear upon the stage. I own I was very highly pleased with it, and liked it the better, for the want of those studied similies and repartees, which we, who have writ before him, have thrown into our plays, to indulge and gain upon a false taste that has prevailed for many years in the British theatre. I believe the author would have condescended to fall into this way a little more than he has, had he, before the writing of it, been often present at theatrical representations. I was confirmed in my thoughts of the play, by the opinion of better judges to whom it was communicated, who observed that the scenes were drawn after Moliere's manner, and that an easy and natural vein of humour ran through the whole.

I do not question but the reader will discover this, and see many beauties that escaped the audience; the touches being too delicate for every taste in a popular assembly. My brother sharers were of opinion, at the first reading of it, that it was like a picture in which the strokes were not strong enough to appear at a distance. As it is not in the common way of writing, the appro-

bation was at first doubtful, but has risen every time it has been acted, and has given an opportunity in several of its parts for as just and good action as ever I saw on the stage.

The reader will consider that I speak here, not as the author, but as the patentee. Which is, perhaps, the reason why I am not diffuse in the praises of the play, lest I should seem like a man who cries up his own wares only to draw in customers.

RICHARD STEELE.

PROLOGUE.

IN this grave age, when comedies are few,
We crave your patronage for one that's new;
Though 'twere poor stuff, yet bid the author fair,
And let the scarceness recommend the ware.
Long have your ears been fill'd with tragic parts,
Blood and blank-verse have harden'd all your hearts;
If e'er you smile, 'tis at some party strokes,
Round-heads and wooden-shoes are standing jokes;
The same conceit gives claps and hisses birth,
You're grown such politicians in your mirth!
For once we try (though 'tis, I own, unsafe,)
To please you all, and make both parties laugh.
  Our author, anxious for his fame to-night,
And bashful in his first attempt to write,
Lies cautiously obscure and unreveal'd,
Like ancient actors in a mask conceal'd.
Censure when no man knows who writes the play,
Were much good malice merely thrown away.
The mighty critics will not blast, for shame,
A raw young thing, who dares not tell his name:
Good-natur'd judges will th' unknown defend,
And fear to blame, lest they shou'd hurt a friend:
Each wit may praise it, for his own dear sake,
And hint he writ it, if the thing shou'd take.
But if you're rough, and use him like a dog,
Depend upon it—he'll remain incog.
If you shou'd hiss, he swears he'll hiss as high,
And, like a culprit, join the hue-and-cry.
  If cruel men are still averse to spare
These scenes, they fly for refuge to the fair.

Though with a ghost our comedy be heighten'd,
Ladies, upon my word, you shan't be frighten'd;
O, 'tis a ghost that scorns to be uncivil,
A well-spread, lusty, jointure-hunting devil;
An am'rous ghost, that's faithful, fond, and true,
Made up of flesh and blood—as much as you,
Then every evening come in flocks, undaunted,
We never think this house is too much haunted.

THE

DRUMMER.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

SIR GEORGE TRUMAN, - -	MR. WILKS.
TINSEL, - - - - - - - -	MR. CIBBER.
FANTOME, the Drummer, - -	MR. MILLS.
VELLUM, Sir George Truman's Steward, - - - - - - - -	MR. JOHNSON.
BUTLER, - - - - - - - -	MR. PINKETHMAN.
COACHMAN, - - - - - - -	MR. MILLER.
GARDENER, - - - - - - -	MR. NORRIS.
LADY TRUMAN, - - - - -	MRS. OLDFIELD.
ABIGAL, - - - - - - - -	MRS. SAUNDERS.

THE

DRUMMER.

ACT I.

SCENE I.

A great Hall.

ENTER THE BUTLER, COACHMAN, AND GARDENER.

BUTLER.

THERE came another coach to town last night, that brought a gentleman to inquire about this strange noise we hear in the house. This spirit will bring a power of custom to the George——If so be he continues his pranks, I design to sell a pot of ale, and set up the sign of the Drum.

COACHMAN.

I'll give Madam warning, that's flat——I've always lived in sober families. I'll not disparage myself to be a servant in a house that is haunted.

GARDENER.

I'll e'en marry Nell, and rent a bit of ground of my own, if both of you leave Madam, not but that Madam's a very good woman—if Mrs. Abigal did not spoil her—come, here's her health.

BUTLER.

It's a very hard thing to be a butler in a house that is disturbed. He made such a racket in the cellar last night, that I'm afraid he'll sour all the beer in my barrels.

COACHMAN.

Why then, John, we ought to take it off as fast as we can. Here's to you——He rattled so loud under the tiles last night, that I verily thought the house would have fallen over our heads. I durst not go up into the cock-loft this morning, if I had not got one of the maids to go along with me.

GARDENER.

I thought I heard him in one of my bed-posts—— I marvel, John, how he gets into the house when all the gates are shut.

BUTLER.

Why, look ye, Peter, your spirit will creep you into an augre-hole:——he'll whisk ye through a key-hole, without so much as justling against one of the wards.

COACHMAN.

Poor Madam is mainly frighted, that's certain, and verily believes 'tis my master that was kill'd in the last campaign.

BUTLER.

Out of all manner of question, Robin, 'tis Sir George. Mrs. Abigal is of opinion it can be none but his honour; he always loved the wars, and you know was mightily pleased from a child with the music of a drum.

GARDENER.

I wonder his body was never found after the battle.

BUTLER.

Found! why, ye fool, is not his body here about the house? Dost thou think he can beat his drum without hands and arms?

COACHMAN.

'Tis master as sure as I stand here alive, and I verily believe I saw him last night in the town-close.

GARDENER.

Ay! how did he appear?

COACHMAN.

Like a white horse.

BUTLER.

Pho, Robin, I tell ye he has never appear'd yet but in the shape of the sound of a drum.

COACHMAN.

This makes one almost afraid of one's own shadow. As I was walking from the stable t'other night without my lanthorn, I fell across a beam, that lay in my way, and faith my heart was in my mouth——I thought I had stumbled over a spirit.

BUTLER.

Thou might'st as well have stumbled over a straw; why, a spirit is such a little thing, that I have heard a man, who was a great scholar, say, that he'll dance ye a Lancashire hornpipe upon the point of a needle ——As I sat in the pantry last night counting my spoons, the candle methought burnt blue, and the spay'd bitch look'd as if she saw something.

COACHMAN.

Ay, poor cur, she's almost frighten'd out of her wits.

GARDENER.

Ay, I warrant ye, she hears him many a time, and often when we don't.

BUTLER.

My lady must have him laid, that's certain, whatever it cost her.

GARDENER.

I fancy, when one goes to market, one might hear of somebody that can make a spell.

COACHMAN.

Why may not our parson of the parish lay him?

BUTLER.

No, no, no, our parson cannot lay him.

COACHMAN.

Why not he as well as another man?

BUTLER.

Why, ye fool, he is not qualified—He has not taken the oaths.

GARDENER.

Why, d'ye think, John, that the spirit would take the law of him?——Faith, I could tell you one way to drive him off.

COACHMAN.

How's that?

GARDENER.

I'll tell you immediately [*drinks*]——I fancy Mrs. Abigal might scold him out of the house.

COACHMAN.

Ay, she has a tongue that would drown his drum, if any thing could.

BUTLER.

Pugh, this is all froth! you understand nothing of the matter——The next time it makes a noise, I tell you what ought to be done,——I would have the steward speak Latin to it.

COACHMAN.

Ay, that would do, if the steward had but courage.

GARDENER.

There you have it——He's a fearful man. If I had as much learning as he, and I met the ghost, I'd tell him his own! but, alack, what can one of us poor men do with a spirit, that can neither write nor read?

BUTLER.

Thou art always cracking and boasting, Peter, thou dost not know what mischief it might do thee, if such a silly dog as thee should offer to speak to it. For ought I know, he might flay thee alive, and make parchment of thy skin to cover his drum with.

GARDENER.

A fiddlestick! tell not me——I fear nothing; not I! I never did harm in my life, I never committed murder.

BUTLER.

I verily believe thee, keep thy temper, Peter; after supper we'll drink each of us a double mug, and then let come what will.

GARDENER.

Why, that's well said, John, an honest man that is not quite sober, has nothing to fear——Here's to ye ——why, how if he should come this minute, here would I stand. Ha! what noise is that?

BUTLER AND COACHMAN.

Ha! where?

GARDENER.

The devil! the devil! Oh, no; 'tis Mrs. Abigal.

BUTLER.

Ay, faith! 'tis she; 'tis Mrs. Abigal! a good mistake! 'tis Mrs. Abigal.

ENTER ABIGAL.

ABIGAL.

Here are your drunken sots for you! Is this a time to be guzzling, when gentry are come to the house! Why don't you lay your cloth? How come you out of the stables? Why are not you at work in your garden?

GARDENER.

Why, yonder's the fine Londoner and Madam fetching a walk together, and methought they look'd as if they should say they had rather have my room than my company.

BUTLER.

And so, forsooth, being all three met together, we are doing our endeavours to drink this same drummer out of our heads.

GARDENER.

For you must know Mrs. Abigal, we are all of opinion that one can't be a match for him, unless one be as drunk as a drum.

COACHMAN.

I am resolved to give Madam warning to hire herself another coachman; for I came to serve my master, d'ye see, while he was alive, but do suppose that he has no further occasion for a coach, now he walks.

BUTLER.

Truly, Mrs. Abigal, I must needs say, that this same

spirit is a very odd sort of a body, after all, to fright Madam and his old servants at this rate.

GARDENER.

And truly, Mrs. Abigal, I must needs say, I serv'd my master contentedly, while he was living; but I will serve no man living (that is, no man that is not living) without double wages.

ABIGAL.

Ay, 'tis such cowards as you that go about with idle stories, to disgrace the house, and bring so many strangers about it; you first frighten yourselves, and then your neighbours.

GARDENER.

Frighten'd! I scorn your words. Frighten'd, quoth-a!

ABIGAL.

What, you scar! are you grown pot-valiant?

GARDENER.

Frighten'd with a drum! that's a good one! it will do us no harm, I'll answer for it. It will bring no blood-shed along with it, take my word. It sounds as like a train-band drum as ever I heard in my life.

BUTLER.

Prithee, Peter, don't be so presumptuous.

ABIGAL.

Well, these drunken rogues take it as I could wish. [*Aside.*

GARDENER.

I scorn to be frighten'd, now I am in for't; if old Dub-a-dub should come into the room, I would take him——

BUTLER.

Prithee hold thy tongue.

GARDENER.

I would take him——

[*The drum beats, the Gardener endeavours to get off, and falls.*

BUTLER AND COACHMAN.

Speak to it Mrs. Abigal.

GARDENER.

Spare my life, and take all I have.

COACHMAN.

Make off, make off, good butler, and let us go hide ourselves in the cellar.

[*They all run off.*

ABIGAL *sola.*

ABIGAL.

So now the coast is clear, I may venture to call out my drummer.——But first let me shut the door, lest we be surpris'd. Mr. Fantome, Mr. Fantome! [*He beats.*] Nay, nay, pray come out, the enemy's fled——I must speak with you immediately——don't stay to beat a parley.

[*The back scene opens, and discovers Fantome with a drum.*

FANTOME.

Dear Mrs. Nabby, I have overheard all that has been said, and find thou hast managed this thing so well, that I could take thee in my arms, and kiss thee——if my drum did not stand in my way.

ABIGAL.

Well, o'my conscience, you are the merriest ghost! and the very picture of Sir George Truman.

FANTOME.

There you flatter me, Mrs. Abigal; Sir George had that freshness in his looks, that we men of the town cannot come up to.

ABIGAL.

Oh! death may have alter'd you, you know—besides, you must consider, you lost a great deal of blood in the battle.

FANTOME.

Ay, that's right; let me look never so pale, this cut cross my forehead will keep me in countenance.

ABIGAL.

'Tis just such a one as my master receiv'd from a cursed French trooper, as my lady's letter inform'd her.

FANTOME.

It happens luckily that this suit of clothes of Sir George's fits me so well,—I think I can't fail hitting the air of a man with whom I was so long acquainted.

ABIGAL.

You are the very man——I vow I almost start when I look upon you.

FANTOME.

But what good will this do me, if I must remain invisible?

ABIGAL.

Pray what good did your being visible do you? The fair Mr. Fantome thought no woman could withstand him——But when you were seen by my lady in your proper person, after she had taken a full survey of you, and heard all the pretty things you could say, she very civilly dismiss'd you for the sake of this empty,

noisy creature Tinsel. She fancies you have been gone from hence this fortnight.

FANTOME.

Why, really I love thy lady so well, that though I had no hopes of gaining her for myself, I could not bear to see her given to another, especially such a wretch as Tinsel.

ABIGAL.

Well, tell me truly, Mr. Fantome, have not you a great opinion of my fidelity to my dear lady, that I would not suffer her to be deluded in this manner, for less than a thousand pound?

FANTOME.

Thou art always reminding me of my promise—— thou shalt have it, if thou canst bring our project to bear; do'st not know that stories of ghosts and apparitions generally end in a pot of money?

ABIGAL.

Why, truly now Mr. Fantome, I should think myself a very bad woman, if I had done what I do for a farthing less.

FANTOME.

Dear Abigal, how I admire thy virtue!

ABIGAL.

No, no, Mr. Fantome, I defy the worst of my enemies to say I love mischief for mischief sake.

FANTOME.

But is thy lady persuaded that I am the ghost of her deceased husband?

ABIGAL.

I endeavour to make her believe so, and tell her every time your drum rattles, that her husband is chiding her for entertaining this new lover.

FANTOME.

Prithee make use of all thy art, for I am tir'd to death with strolling round this wide old house, like a rat behind a wainscot.

ABIGAL.

Did not I tell you, 'twas the purest place in the world for you to play your tricks in? there's none of the family that knows every hole and corner in it besides myself.

FANTOME.

Ah! Mrs. Abigal! you have had your intrigues.——

ABIGAL.

For you must know, when I was a romping young girl, I was a mighty lover of *hide and seek*.

FANTOME.

I believe, by this time, I am as well acquainted with the house as yourself.

ABIGAL.

You are very much mistaken, Mr. Fantome; but no matter for that; here is to be your station to-night. This is the place unknown to any one living besides myself, since the death of the joiner; who, you must understand, being a lover of mine, contrived the wainscot to move to and fro, in the manner that you find it. I designed it for a wardrobe for my lady's cast clothes. Oh! the stomachers, stays, petticoats, commodes, lac'd shoes, and good things, that I have had in it!——Pray take care you don't break the cherry-brandy bottle that stands up in the corner.

FANTOME.

Well, Mrs. Abigal, I hire your closet of you but for this one night——a thousand pound you know is a very good rent.

ABIGAL.

Well, get you gone: you have such a way with you, there's no denying you any thing!

FANTOME.

I'm a thinking how Tinsel will stare when he sees me come out of the wall: for I am resolved to make my appearance to-night.

ABIGAL.

Get you in, get you in, my lady 's at the door.

FANTOME.

Pray take care she does not keep me up so late as she did last night, or depend upon it I'll beat the tattoo.

ABIGAL.

I'm undone, I'm undone——[*As he is going in.*] Mr. Fantome, Mr. Fantome, you have put the thousand pound bond into my brother's hands.

FANTOME.

Thou shalt have it, I tell thee, thou shalt have it.

[*Fantome goes in.*

ABIGAL.

No more words——Vanish, vanish.

ENTER LADY.

ABIGAL, *opening the door.*

Oh, dear madam, was it you that made such a knocking? my heart does so beat——I vow you have frighted me to death——I thought verily it had been the drummer.

LADY.

I have been showing the garden to Mr. Tinsel; he's most insufferably witty upon us about this story of the drum.

ABIGAL.

Indeed, madam, he's a very loose man! I'm afraid 'tis he that hinders my poor master from resting in his grave.

LADY.

Well! an *infidel* is such a novelty in the country, that I am resolv'd to divert myself a day or two at least with the oddness of his conversation.

ABIGAL.

Ah, madam! the drum begun to beat in the house as soon as ever this creature was admitted to visit you. All the while Mr. Fantome made his addresses to you, there was not a mouse stirring in the family more than us'd to be——

LADY.

This baggage has some design upon me, more than I can yet discover. [*Aside.*]—Mr. Fantome was always thy favourite.

ABIGAL.

Ay, and should have been your's too, by my consent! Mr. Fantome was not such a slight fantastic thing as this is.—Mr. Fantome was the best built man one should see in a summer's day! Mr. Fantome was a man of honour, and lov'd you! Poor soul! how has he sigh'd when he has talk'd to me of my hard-hearted lady.—— Well! I had as lief as a thousand pounds you would marry Mr. Fantome!

LADY.

To tell thee truly, I lov'd him well enough till I found he lov'd me so much. But Mr. Tinsel makes his court to me with so much neglect and indifference, and with such an agreeable sauciness—Not that I say I'll marry him.

ABIGAL.

Marry him, quoth-a! no, if you should, you'll be

awaken'd sooner than married couples generally are—You'll quickly have a drum at your window.

LADY.

I'll hide my contempt of Tinsel for once, if it be but to see what this wench drives at. [*Aside.*

ABIGAL.

Why, suppose your husband, after this fair warning he has given you, should sound you an alarm at midnight; then open your curtains with a face as pale as my apron, and cry out with a hollow voice, 'What dost thou do in bed with this spindle-shank'd fellow?'

LADY.

Why wilt thou needs have it to be my husband? he never had any reason to be offended at me. I always lov'd him while he was living, and should prefer him to any man, were he so still. Mr. Tinsel is indeed very idle in his talk, but I fancy, Abigal, a discreet woman might reform him.

ABIGAL.

That's a likely matter indeed; did you ever hear of a woman who had power over a man, when she was his wife, that had none while she was his mistress! Oh! there's nothing in the world improves a man in his complaisance like marriage!

LADY.

He is, indeed, at present, too familiar in his conversation.

ABIGAL.

Familiar! madam, in troth, he's down-right rude.

LADY.

But that you know, Abigal, shows he has no dissimulation in him—Then he is apt to jest a little too much upon grave subjects.

ABIGAL.

Grave subjects! he jests upon the church.

LADY.

But that you know, Abigal, may be only to shew his wit—Then it must be owned he is extremely talkative.

ABIGAL.

Talkative, d'ye call it! he's down-right impertinent.

LADY.

But that, you know, Abigal, is a sign he has been us'd to good company——Then, indeed, he is very positive.

ABIGAL.

Positive! Why, he contradicts you in every thing you say.

LADY.

But then you know, Abigal, he has been educated at the inns of court.

ABIGAL.

A blessed education indeed! it has made him forget his catechism!

LADY.

You talk as if you hated him.

ABIGAL.

You talk as if you lov'd him.

LADY.

Hold your tongue! here he comes.

ENTER TINSEL.

TINSEL.

My dear widow!

ABIGAL.

My dear widow! marry come up! [*Aside.*

LADY.

Let him alone, Abigal, so long as he does not call me my dear wife, there's no harm done.

TINSEL.

I have been most ridiculously diverted since I left you——Your servants have made a convert of my booby. His head is so filled with this foolish story of a drummer, that I expect the rogue will be afraid hereafter to go upon a message by moon-light.

LADY.

Ah, Mr. Tinsel, what a loss of billet-doux would that be to many a fine lady!

ABIGAL.

Then you still believe this to be a foolish story? I thought my lady had told you, that she had heard it herself.

TINSEL.

Ha, ha, ha!

ABIGAL.

Why, you would not persuade us out of our senses?

TINSEL.

Ha, ha, ha!

ABIGAL.

There's manners for you, madam. [*Aside.*

LADY.

Admirably rally'd! that laugh is unanswerable! Now I'll be hang'd if you could forbear being witty upon me, if I should tell you I heard it no longer ago than last night.

TINSEL.

Fancy.

LADY.

But what if I should tell you my maid was with me!

TINSEL.

Vapours! vapours! Pray, my dear widow, will you answer me one question?——Had you ever this noise of a drum in your head, all the while your husband was living?

LADY.

And pray, Mr. Tinsel, will you let me ask you another question? Do you think we can hear in the country, as well as you do in town?

TINSEL.

Believe me, madam, I could prescribe you a cure for these imaginations.

ABIGAL.

Don't tell my lady of imaginations, sir, I have heard it myself.

TINSEL.

Hark thee, child——art thou not an old maid?

ABIGAL.

Sir, if I am, it is my own fault.

TINSEL.

Whims! freaks! megrims! indeed, Mrs. Abigal.

ABIGAL.

Marry, sir, by your talk one would believe you thought every thing that was good is a megrim.

LADY.

Why, truly, I don't very well understand what you

meant by your doctrine to me in the garden just now, that every thing we saw was made by chance.

ABIGAL.

A very pretty subject, indeed, for a lover to divert his mistress with.

LADY.

But I suppose that was only a taste of the conversation you would entertain me with after marriage.

TINSEL.

Oh, I shall then have time to read you such lectures of motions, atoms, and nature—that you shall learn to think as freely as the best of us, and be convinced in less than a month, that all about us is chance-work.

LADY.

You are a very complaisant person indeed; and so you would make your court to me, by persuading me that I was made by chance!

TINSEL.

Ha, ha, ha! well said, my dear! why, faith, thou wert a very lucky hit, that's certain!

LADY.

Pray, Mr. Tinsel, where did you learn this odd way of talking?

TINSEL.

Ah, widow, 'tis your country innocence makes you think it an odd way of talking.

LADY.

Though you give no credit to stories of apparitions, I hope you believe there are such things as spirits!

TINSEL.

Simplicity!

ABIGAL.

I fancy you don't believe women have souls, d'ye sir?

TINSEL.

Foolish enough!

LADY.

I vow, Mr. Tinsel, I'm afraid malicious people will say I'm in love with an atheist.

TINSEL.

Oh, my dear, that's an old-fashion'd word——I'm a Freethinker, child.

ABIGAL.

I'm sure you are a free speaker!

LADY.

Really, Mr. Tinsel, considering that you are so fine a gentleman, I'm amaz'd where you got all this learning! I wonder it has not spoil'd your breeding.

TINSEL.

To tell you the truth, I have not time to look into these dry matters myself, but I am convinced by four or five learned men, whom I sometimes overhear at a coffee-house I frequent, that our forefathers were a pack of asses, that the world has been in an error for some thousands of years, and that all the people upon earth, excepting those two or three worthy gentlemen, are impos'd upon, cheated, bubbled, abus'd, bamboozled——

ABIGAL.

Madam, how can you hear such a profligate? he talks like the London prodigal.

LADY.

Why, really, I'm a thinking, if there be no such

things as spirits, a woman has no occasion for marrying ——She need not be afraid to lie by herself.

TINSEL.

Ah! my dear! are husbands good for nothing but to frighten away spirits? Dost thou think I could not instruct thee in several other comforts of matrimony?

LADY.

Ah! but you are a man of so much knowledge, that you would always be laughing at my ignorance ——You learned men are so apt to despise one!

TINSEL.

No, child! I'd teach thee my principles, thou should'st be as wise as I am——in a week's time.

LADY.

Do you think your principles would make a woman the better wife?

TINSEL.

Prithee, widow, don't be queer.

LADY.

I love a gay temper, but I would not have you rally things that are serious.

TINSEL.

Well enough, faith! where's the jest of rallying any thing else?

ABIGAL.

Ah, madam, did you ever hear Mr. Fantome talk at this rate? [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

But where's this ghost? this son of a whore of a drummer? I'd fain hear him, methinks.

ABIGAL.

Pray, madam, don't suffer him to give the ghost such ill language, especially when you have reason to believe it is my master.

TINSEL.

That's well enough, faith, Nab; dost thou think thy master is so unreasonable as to continue his claim to his relict after his bones are laid? Pray, widow, remember the words of your contract, you have fulfill'd them to a tittle——Did not you marry Sir George to the tune of, 'till death us do part?'

LADY.

I must not hear Sir George's memory treated in so slight a manner——This fellow must have been at some pains to make himself such a finish'd coxcomb. [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

Give me but possession of your person, and I'll whirl you up to town for a winter, and cure you at once. Oh! I have known many a country lady come to London with frightful stories of the hall-house being haunted, of fairies, spirits, and witches; that by the time she had seen a comedy, play'd at an assembly, and ambled in a ball or two, has been so little afraid of bugbears, that she has ventur'd home in a chair at all hours of the night.

ABIGAL.

Hum———sauce-box. [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

'Tis the solitude of the country that creates these whimsies; there was never such a thing as a ghost heard of at London, except in the playhouse——Oh, we'd pass all our time in London. 'Tis the scene of pleasure and diversions, where there's something to

amuse you every hour of the day. Life's not life in the country.

LADY.

Well then, you have an opportunity of showing the sincerity of that love to me which you profess. You may give a proof that you have an affection to my person, not my jointure.

TINSEL.

Your jointure! how can you think me such a dog! But, child, won't your jointure be the same thing in London as in the country?

LADY.

No, you're deceiv'd! You must know it is settled on me by marriage-articles, on condition that I live in this old mansion-house, and keep it up in repair.

TINSEL.

How!

ABIGAL.

That's well put, madam.

TINSEL.

Why, faith, I have been looking upon this house, and think it is the prettiest habitation I ever saw in my life.

LADY.

Ay, but then this cruel drum!

TINSEL.

Something so venerable in it!

LADY.

Ay, but the drum!

TINSEL.

For my part, I like this Gothic way of building better than any of your new orders——it would be a thousand pities it should fall to ruin.

LADY.

Ay, but the drum!

TINSEL.

How pleasantly we two could pass our time in this delicious situation. Our lives would be a continued dream of happiness. Come, faith, widow, let's go upon the leads, and take a view of the country.

LADY.

Ay, but the drum! the drum!

TINSEL.

My dear, take my word for't 'tis all fancy: besides, should he drum in thy very bed-chamber, I should only hug thee the closer.

Clasp'd in the folds of love, I'd meet my doom,
And act my joys, tho' thunder shook the room.

ACT II.

SCENE I.

Scene opens, and discovers Vellum in his Office, and a Letter in his Hand.

VELLUM.

THIS letter astonisheth; may I believe my own eyes ——or rather my spectacles——'To Humphry Vellum, Esq. Steward to the Lady Truman.'

'VELLUM,

'I DOUBT not but you will be glad to hear your master is alive, and designs to be with you in half an hour. The report of my being slain in the Netherlands, has, I find, produced some disorders in my family. I am now at the George Inn. If an old man with a grey beard, in a black cloak, inquires after you, give him admittance, he passes for a conjurer, but is, really,

'Your faithful friend,

'G. TRUMAN.'

'P. S. Let this be a secret, and you shall find your account in it.'

This amazeth me! and yet the reasons why I should believe he is still living, are manifold——First, because this has often been the case of other military adventurers.

Secondly, because the news of his death was first publish'd in Dyer's Letter.

Thirdly, because this letter can be written by none

but himself——I know his hand, and manner of spelling.

Fourthly——

ENTER BUTLER.

BUTLER.

Sir, here's a strange old gentleman that asks for you; he says he's a conjurer, but he looks very suspicious; I wish he ben't a Jesuit.

VELLUM.

Admit him immediately.

BUTLER.

I wish he ben't a Jesuit; but he says he's nothing but a conjurer.

VELLUM.

He says right——He is no more than a conjurer. Bring him in and withdraw. [*Exit Butler.*

And, Fourthly, As I was saying, because———

ENTER BUTLER WITH SIR GEORGE.

BUTLER.

Sir, here is the conjurer——What a devilish long beard he has! I warrant it has been growing these hundred years. [*Aside. Exit.*

SIR GEORGE.

Dear vellum, you have receiv'd my letter: but before we proceed lock the door.

VELLUM.

It is his voice. [*Shuts the door.*

SIR GEORGE.

In the next place help me off with this cumbersome cloak:

VELLUM.

It is his shape.

SIR GEORGE.

So, now lay my beard upon the table.

VELLUM.

[*After having looked on Sir George through his spectacles.*]

It is his face, every lineament!

SIR GEORGE.

Well, now I have put off the conjurer and the old man, I can talk to thee more at my ease.

VELLUM.

Believe me, my good master, I am as much rejoiced to see you alive, as I was upon the day you were born. Your name was, in all the news-papers, in the list of those that were slain.

SIR GEORGE.

We have not time to be particular. I shall only tell thee in general, that I was taken prisoner in the battle, and was under close confinement for several months. Upon my release, I was resolved to surprise my wife with the news of my being alive. I know, Vellum, you are a person of so much penetration, that I need not use any further arguments to convince you that I am so.

VELLUM.

I am—and, moreover, I question not but your good lady will likewise be convinced of it. Her ho--nour is a discerning lady.

SIR GEORGE.

I'm only afraid she should be convinced of it to her sorrow. Is not she pleas'd with her imaginary widowhood? Tell me truly, was she afflicted at the report of my death?

VELLUM.

Sorely.

SIR GEORGE.

How long did her grief last?

VELLUM.

Longer than I have known any widow's—at least three days.

SIR GEORGE.

Three days, say'st thou? three whole days? I'm afraid thou flatterest me!——O woman! woman!

VELLUM.

Grief is twofold.

SIR GEORGE.

This blockhead is as methodical as ever——but I know he's honest. [*Aside.*

VELLUM.

There is a real grief, and there is a methodical grief; she was drowned in tears till such a time as the tailor had made her widow's weeds——Indeed they became her.

SIR GEORGE.

Became her! and was that her comfort? Truly, a most seasonable consolation!

VELLUM.

But, I must needs say, she paid a due regard to your memory, and could not forbear weeping when she saw company.

SIR GEORGE.

That was kind indeed! I find she griev'd with a great deal of good breeding. But how comes this gang of lovers about her?

VELLUM.

Her jointure is considerable.

SIR GEORGE.

How this fool torments me! [*Aside.*

VELLUM.

Her person is amiable——

SIR GEORGE.

Death! [*Aside.*

VELLUM.

But her character is unblemished. She has been as virtuous in your absence as a Penelope——

SIR GEORGE.

And has had as many suitors.

VELLUM.

Several have made their overtures.

SIR GEORGE.

Several!

VELLUM.

But she has rejected all.

SIR GEORGE.

There thou reviv'st me——but what means this Tinsel? Are his visits acceptable?

VELLUM.

He is young.

SIR GEORGE.

Does she listen to him?

VELLUM.

He is gay.

SIR GEORGE.

Sure she could never entertain a thought of marrying such a coxcomb!

VELLUM.

He is not ill made.

SIR GEORGE.

Are the vows and protestations that pass'd between us come to this! I can't bear the thought of it! Is Tinsel the man design'd for my worthy successor?

VELLUM.

You do not consider that you have been dead these fourteen months——

SIR GEORGE.

Was there ever such a dog? [*Aside.*

VELLUM.

And I have often heard her say, that she must never expect to find a second Sir George Truman—meaning your ho--nour.

SIR GEORGE.

I think she lov'd me; but I must search into this story of the Drummer before I discover myself to her. I have put on this habit of a conjurer, in order to introduce myself. It must be your business to recommend me, as a most profound person, that by my great knowledge in the curious arts, can silence the Drummer, and dispossess the house.

VELLUM.

I am going to lay my accounts before my lady, and

I will endeavour to prevail upon her ho--nour to admit the trial of your art.

SIR GEORGE.

I have scarce heard of any of these stories that did not arise from a love intrigue——Amours raise as many ghosts as murders.

VELLUM.

Mrs. Abigal endeavours to persuade us, that 'tis your ho--nour who troubles the house.

SIR GEORGE.

That convinces me 'tis a cheat, for, I think, Vellum, I may be pretty well assured it is not me.

VELLUM.

I am apt to think so, truly. Ha—ha—ha!

SIR GEORGE.

Abigal had always an ascendant over her lady, and if there is a trick in this matter, depend upon it she is at the bottom of it. I'll be hang'd if this ghost be not one of Abigal's familiars.

VELLUM.

Mrs. Abigal has of late been very mysterious.

SIR GEORGE.

I fancy, Vellum, thou could'st worm it out of her. I know formerly there was an amour between you.

VELLUM.

Mrs. Abigal hath her allurements, and she knows I have pick'd up a competency in your ho--nour's service.

SIR GEORGE.

If thou hast, all I ask of thee in return is, that thou

would'st immediately renew thy addresses to her. Coax her up. Thou hast such a silver tongue, Vellum, as 'twill be impossible for her to withstand. Besides, she is so very a woman, that she'll like thee the better for giving her the pleasure of telling a secret. In short, wheedle her out of it, and I shall act by the advice which thou givest me.

VELLUM.

Mrs. Abigal was never deaf to me, when I talked upon that subject. I will take an opportunity of addressing myself to her in the most pathetic manner.

SIR GEORGE.

In the mean time lock me up in your office, and bring me word what success you have —— Well, sure I am the first that ever was employ'd to lay himself.

VELLUM.

You act, indeed, a threefold part in this house; you are a ghost, a conjurer, and my ho--noured master, Sir George Truman; he, he, he! You will pardon me for being jocular.

SIR GEORGE.

O, Mr. Vellum, with all my heart. You know I love you men of wit and humour. Be as merry as thou pleasest, so thou dost thy business. [*Mimicking him.*] You will remember, Vellum, your commission is twofold, first, to gain admission for me to your lady, and, secondly, to get the secret out of Abigal.

VELLUM.

It sufficeth. [*The scene shuts,*

ENTER LADY *sola.*

LADY.

Women, who have been happy in a first marriage,

are the most apt to venture upon a second. But for my part, I had a husband so every way suited to my inclinations, that I must entirely forget him before I can like another man. I have now been a widow but fourteen months, and have had twice as many lovers, all of them profess'd admirers of my person, but passionately in love with my jointure. I think it is a revenge I owe my sex to make an example of this worthless tribe of fellows, who grow impudent, dress themselves fine, and fancy we are obliged to provide for 'em. But of all my captives, Mr. Tinsel is the most extraordinary in his kind. I hope the diversion I give myself with him is unblamable. I'm sure 'tis necessary to turn my thoughts off from the memory of that dear man, who has been the greatest happiness and affliction of my life. My heart would be a prey to melancholy, if I did not find these innocent methods of relieving it. But here comes Abigal. I must teaze the baggage, for I find she has taken it into her head that I am entirely at her disposal.

ENTER ABIGAL.

ABIGAL.

Madam! Madam! yonder's Mr. Tinsel has as good as taken possession of your house. Marry, he says, he must have Sir George's apartment enlarg'd; for truly, says he, I hate to be straiten'd. Nay, he was so impudent as to shew me the chamber where he intends to consummate as he calls it.

LADY.

Well! he's a wild fellow.

ABIGAL.

Indeed he's a very sad man, madam.

LADY.

He's young, Abigal, 'tis a thousand pities he should be lost; I should be mighty glad to reform him.

ABIGAL.

Reform him! marry hang him!

LADY.

Has not he a great deal of life?

ABIGAL.

Ay, enough to make your heart ache.

LADY.

I dare say thou think'st him a very agreeable fellow.

ABIGAL.

He thinks himself so, I'll answer for him.

LADY.

He's very good natur'd!

ABIGAL.

He ought to be so, for he's very silly.

LADY.

Dost thou think he loves me?

ABIGAL.

Mr. Fantome did, I am sure.

LADY.

With what raptures he talk'd!

ABIGAL.

Yes, but 'twas in praise of your jointure-house.

LADY.

He has kept bad company.

ABIGAL.

They must be very bad indeed, if they were worse than himself.

LADY.

I have a strong fancy a good woman might reform him.

ABIGAL.

It would be a fine experiment, if it should not succeed.

LADY.

Well, Abigal, we'll talk of that another time; here comes the steward, I have no further occasion for you at present. [*Exit Abigal.*

ENTER VELLUM.

VELLUM.

Madam, is your ho--nour at leisure to look into the accounts of the last week? They rise very high—Housekeeping is chargeable in a house that is haunted.

LADY.

How comes that to pass? I hope the drum neither eats nor drinks? But read your account, Vellum.

VELLUM.

[*Putting on and off his spectacles in this scene.*] A hogshead and a half of ale—it is not for the ghost's drinking—but your ho--nour's servants say they must have something to keep up their courage against this strange noise. They tell me they expect a double quantity of malt in their small beer so long as the house continues in this condition.

LADY.

At this rate they'll take care to be frighten'd all the year round, I'll answer for 'em. But go on.

VELLUM.

Item, two sheep, and a—where is the ox?—Oh! here I have him—and an ox—Your ho--nour must always have a piece of cold beef in the house for the entertainment of so many strangers, who come from all parts to hear this drum. *Item*, bread, ten peck loaves—They cannot eat beef without bread.——*Item*, three barrels of table beer—They must have drink with their meat.

LADY.

Sure no woman in England has a steward that makes such ingenious comments on his works. [*Aside.*

VELLUM.

Item, to Mr. Tinsel's servants, five bottles of port wine——It was by your ho--nour's order——*Item*, three bottles of sack for the use of Mrs. Abigal.

LADY.

I suppose that was by your own order.

VELLUM.

We have been long friends, we are your ho--nours ancient servants, sack is an innocent cordial, and gives her spirit to chide the servants when they are tardy in their bus'ness! he, he, he! pardon me for being jocular.

LADY.

Well, I see you'll come together at last.

VELLUM.

Item, a dozen pound of watch-lights for the use of the servants.

LADY.

For the use of the servants! What, are the rogues afraid of sleeping in the dark? What an unfortunate woman am I! This is such a particular distress, it puts

me to my wit's end. Vellum, what wou'd you advise me to do?

VELLUM.

Madam, your ho--nour has two points to consider. *Imprimis*, To retrench these extravagant expences, which so many strangers bring upon you.——Secondly, To clear the house of this invisible drummer.

LADY.

This learned division leaves me just as wise as I was. But how must we bring these two points to bear?

VELLUM.

I beseech your ho--nour to give me the hearing.

LADY.

I do. But, prithee, take pity on me, and be not tedious.

VELLUM.

I will be concise. There is a certain person arrived this morning, an aged man, of a venerable aspect, and of a long hoary beard, that reacheth down to his girdle. The common people call him a wizard, a white witch, a conjurer, a cunning man, a necromancer, a———

LADY.

No matter for his titles. But what of all this?

VELLUM.

Give me the hearing, good my lady. He pretends to great skill in the occult sciences, and is come hither upon the rumour of this Drum. If one may believe him, he knows the secret of laying ghosts, or of quieting houses that are haunted.

LADY.

Pho, these are idle stories to amuse the country people; this can do us no good.

VELLUM.

It can do us no harm, my lady.

LADY.

I dare say thou dost not believe there is any thing in it thyself.

VELLUM.

I cannot say I do; there is no danger, however, in the experiment. Let him try his skill; if it should succeed, we are rid of the drum; if it should not, we may tell the world that it has, and by that means at least get out of this expensive way of living; so that it must turn to your advantage one way or another.

LADY.

I think you argue very rightly. But where is the man? I would fain see him. He must be a curiosity.

VELLUM.

I have already discours'd him, and he is to be with me, in my office, half an hour hence. He asks nothing for his pains, till he has done his work;——no cure, no money.

LADY.

That circumstance, I must confess, wou'd make one believe there is more in his art than one wou'd imagine. Pray, Vellum, go and fetch him hither immediately.

VELLUM.

I am gone. He shall be forth-coming forthwith.

[*Exeunt.*

ENTER BUTLER, COACHMAN, AND GARDENER.

BUTLER.

Rare news, my lads, rare news!

GARDENER.

What's the matter? hast thou got any more vales for us?

BUTLER.

No, 'tis better than that.

COACHMAN.

Is there another stranger come to the house?

BUTLER.

Ay, such a stranger as will make all our lives easy.

GARDENER.

What! is he a lord?

BUTLER.

A lord! No, nothing like it.——He's a conjurer.

COACHMAN.

A conjurer! what, is he come a wooing to my lady?

BUTLER.

No, no, you fool, he's come a purpose to lay the spirit.

COACHMAN.

Ay, marry, that's good news indeed; but where is he?

BUTLER.

He's lock'd up with the steward in his office, they are laying their heads together very close. I fancy they are casting a figure.

GARDENER.

Prithee John, what sort of a creature is a conjurer.

BUTLER.

Why he's made much as other men are, if it was not for his long grey beard.

COACHMAN.

Look ye Peter, it stands with reason, that a conjurer shou'd have a long grey beard—for did ye ever know a witch that was not an old woman?

GARDENER.

Why! I remember a conjurer once at a fair, that to my thinking was a very smock-fac'd man, and yet he spew'd out fifty yards of green ferret. I fancy, John, if thou'dst get him into the pantry and give him a cup of ale, he'd shew us a few tricks. Do'st think we cou'd not persuade him to swallow one of thy case-knives for his diversion? He'll certainly bring it up again.

BUTLER.

Peter, thou art such a wiseacre! Thou do'st not know the difference between a conjurer and a juggler. This man must be a very great master of his trade. His beard is at least half a yard long, he's dress'd in a strange dark cloak, as black as a coal. Your conjurer always goes in mourning.

GARDENER.

Is he a gentleman? had he a sword by his side?

BUTLER.

No, no, he's too grave a man for that, a conjurer is as grave as a judge,——but he had a long white wand in his hand.

COACHMAN.

You may be sure there's a good deal of virtue in that wand——I fancy 'tis made out of witch-elm.

GARDENER.

I warrant you if the ghost appears, he'll whisk ye that wand before his eyes, and strike you the drum-stick out of his hand.

BUTLER.

No; the wand, look ye, is to make a circle, and if he once gets the ghost in a circle, then he has him—let him get out again if he can. A circle, you must know, is a conjurer's trap.

COACHMAN.

But what will he do with him, when he has him there?

BUTLER.

Why then he'll overpower him with his learning.

GARDENER.

If he can once compass him, and get him in lobs-pound, he'll make nothing of him, but speak a few hard words to him, and perhaps bind him over to his good behaviour for a thousand years.

COACHMAN.

Ay, ay, he'll send him packing to his grave with a flea in his ear, I warrant him.

BUTLER.

No, no, I wou'd advise madam to spare no cost. If the conjurer be but well paid, he'll take pains upon the ghost, and lay him, look ye, in the Red Sea——and then he's laid for ever.

COACHMAN.

Ay, marry, that wou'd spoil his drum for him

GARDENER.

Why, John, there must be a power of spirits in that same Red Sea——I warrant ye they are as plenty as fish.

COACHMAN.

Well, I wish after all that he may not be too hard for the conjurer; I'm afraid he'll find a tough bit of work on't.

GARDENER.

I wish the spirit may not carry a corner of the house off with him.

BUTLER.

As for that, Peter, you may be sure that the steward has made his bargain with the cunning man before-hand, that he shall stand to all costs and damages——But hark! yonder's Mrs. Abigal, we shall have her with us immediately, if we do not get off.

GARDENER.

Ay, lads! if we could get Mrs. Abigal well laid, too—we should lead merry lives.

For to a man like me that's stout and bold,
A ghost is not so dreadful as a scold.

ACT III.

SCENE I.

Scene opens, and discovers Sir George in Vellum's Office.

SIR GEORGE.

I WONDER I don't hear of Vellum yet. But I know his wisdom will do nothing rashly. The fellow has been so us'd to form in business, that it has infected his whole conversation. But I must not find fault with that punctual and exact behaviour which has been of so much use to me; my estate is the better for it.

[*Enter Vellum.*

Well Vellum, I'm impatient to hear your success.

VELLUM.

First, let me lock the door.

SIR GEORGE.

Will your lady admit me?

VELLUM.

If this lock is not mended soon, it will be quite spoiled.

SIR GEORGE.

Prithee let the lock alone at present, and answer me.

VELLUM.

Delays in business are dangerous——I must send for the smith next week——and in the mean time will take a minute of it.

SIR GEORGE.

What says your lady?

VELLUM.

This pen is naught, and wants mending—My lady, did you say?

SIR GEORGE.

Does she admit me?

VELLUM.

I have gain'd admission for you as a conjurer.

SIR GEORGE.

That's enough! I'll gain admission for myself as a husband. Does she believe there is any thing in my art?

VELLUM.

It is hard to know what a woman believes.

SIR GEORGE.

Did she ask no questions about me?

VELLUM.

Sundry——She desires to talk with you herself, before you enter upon your business.

SIR GEORGE.

But when?

VELLUM.

Immediately. This instant.

SIR GEORGE.

Pugh. What hast thou been doing all this while! Why didst not tell me so? Give me my cloak—have you yet met with Abigal?

VELLUM.

I have not yet had an opportunity of talking with

her. But we have interchanged some languishing glances.

SIR GEORGE.

Let thee alone for that, Vellum, I have formerly seen thee ogle her through thy spectacles. Well! This is a most venerable cloak. After the business of this day is over, I'll make thee a present of it. 'Twill become thee mightily.

VELLUM.

He, he, he! wou'd you make a conjurer of your steward?

SIR GEORGE.

Prithee don't be jocular, I'm in haste. Help me on with my beard.

VELLUM.

And what will your ho--nour do with your cast beard?

SIR GEORGE.

Why, faith, thy gravity wants only such a beard to it; if thou would'st wear it with the cloak, thou would'st make a most complete heathen philosopher. But where's my wand?

VELLUM.

A fine taper stick! It is well chosen. I will keep this till you are sheriff of the county. It is not my custom to let any thing be lost.

SIR GEORGE.

Come, Vellum, lead the way. You must introduce me to your lady. Thou'rt the fittest fellow in the world to be a master of the ceremonies to a conjurer.

[*Exeunt.*

ENTER ABIGAL *crossing the stage,* TINSEL *following.*

TINSEL.

Nabby, Nabby, whither so fast child?

ABIGAL.

Keep your hands to yourself. I'm going to call the steward to my lady.

TINSEL.

What? Goodman Two-fold? I met him walking with a strange old fellow yonder. I suppose he belongs to the family too. He looks very antique. He must be some of the furniture of this old mansion-house.

ABIGAL.

What does the man mean? Don't think to palm me, as you do my lady.

TINSEL.

Prithee, Nabby, tell me one thing; what's the reason thou art my enemy?

ABIGAL.

Marry, because I'm a friend to my lady.

TINSEL.

Dost thou see any thing about me thou dost not like? Come hither, hussy, give me a kiss: don't be ill-natur'd.

ABIGAL.

Sir, I know how to be civil. [*Kisses her.*]—This rogue will carry off my lady, if I don't take care. [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

Thy lips are as soft as velvet, Abigal. I must get thee a husband.

ABIGAL.

Ay, now you don't speak idly, I can talk to you.

TINSEL.

I have one in my eye for thee. Dost thou love a young lusty son of a whore?

ABIGAL.

Laud, how you talk!

TINSEL.

This is a thundering dog.

ABIGAL.

What is he?

TINSEL.

A private gentleman.

ABIGAL.

Ay! where does he live?

TINSEL.

In the Horse-Guards—But he has one fault I must tell thee of. If thou canst bear with that, he's a man for thy purpose.

ABIGAL.

Pray, Mr. Tinsel, what may that be?

TINSEL.

He's but five and twenty years old.

ABIGAL.

'Tis no matter for his age, if he has been well educated.

TINSEL.

No man better, child; he'll tye a wig, toss a dye,

make a pass, and swear with such a grace, as would make thy heart leap to hear him.

ABIGAL.

Half these accomplishments will do, provided he has an estate.—Pray what has he?

TINSEL.

Not a farthing.

ABIGAL.

Pax on him, what do I give him the hearing for! [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

But as for that I wou'd make it up to him.

ABIGAL.

How?

TINSEL.

Why look ye, child, as soon as I have married thy lady, I design to discard this old prig of a steward, and to put this honest gentleman, I am speaking of, into his place.

ABIGAL.

[*Aside.*] This fellow's a fool—I'll have no more to say to him.—Hark! my lady's a coming!

TINSEL.

Depend upon it, Nab, I'll remember my promise.

ABIGAL.

Ay, and so will I too—to your cost, [*Aside.*

[*Exit Abigal.*

TINSEL.

My dear is purely fitted up with a maid.—But I shall rid the house of her.

ENTER LADY.

LADY.

Oh, Mr. Tinsel, I am glad to meet you here. I am going to give you an entertainment, that won't be disagreeable to a man of wit and pleasure of the town.—There may be something diverting in a conversation between a conjurer, and this conceited ass. [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

She loves me to distraction, I see that. [*Aside.*]—Prithee, widow, explain thyself.

LADY.

You must know here is a strange sort of a man come to town who undertakes to free the house from this disturbance. The steward believes him a conjurer.

TINSEL.

Ay; thy steward is a deep one!

LADY.

He's to be here immediately. It is indeed an odd figure of a man.

TINSEL.

Oh! I warrant you he has studied the black art! Ha, ha, ha! Is he not an Oxford scholar?—Widow, thy house is the most extraordinarily inhabited of any widow's this day in Christendom—I think thy four chief domestics are—a wither'd Abigal—a superanuated steward—a ghost—and a conjurer.

LADY, *mimicking Tinsel.*

And you wou'd have it inhabited by a fifth, who is a more extraordinary person than any of all these four.

TINSEL.

It's a sure sign a woman loves you, when she imitates your manner. [*Aside.*]—Thou'rt very smart, my dear. But see! smoke the doctor.

ENTER VELLUM, *and* SIR GEORGE *in his conjurer's habit.*

VELLUM.

I will introduce this profound person to your ladyship, and then leave him with you—Sir, this is her ho--nour.

SIR GEORGE.

I know it well. [*Exit Vellum.*

[*Aside, walking in a musing posture.*] That dear woman! The sight of her unmans me. I cou'd weep for tenderness, did not I at the same time, feel an indignation rise in me, to see that wretch with her: and yet I cannot but smile to see her in the company of her first and second husband at the same time.

LADY.

Mr. Tinsel, do you speak to him; you are us'd to the company of men of learning.

TINSEL.

Old gentleman, thou dost not look like an inhabitant of this world; I suppose thou art lately come down from the stars. Pray what news is stirring in the Zodiac?

SIR GEORGE.

News that ought to make the heart of a coward tremble. Mars is now entering into the first house, and will shortly appear in all his domal dignities——

TINSEL.

Mars? Prithee, Father Grey-beard, explain thyself.

SIR GEORGE.

The entrance of Mars into his house, portends the entrance of a master into this family——and that soon.

TINSEL.

D'ye hear that, widow? The stars have cut me out for thy husband. This house is to have a master, and that soon—Hark thee old Gadbury, is not Mars very like a young fellow call'd Tom Tinsel?

SIR GEORGE.

Not so much as Venus is like this lady.

TINSEL.

A word in your ear, Doctor; these two planets will be in conjunction by and by; I can tell you that.

SIR GEORGE, *aside, walking disturb'd.*

Curse on this impertinent fop! I shall scarce forbear discovering myself——Madam, I am told that your house is visited with strange noises.

LADY.

And I am told that you can quiet them. I must confess I had a curiosity to see the person I had heard so much of; and, indeed, your aspect shows that you have had much experience in the world. You must be a very aged man.

SIR GEORGE.

My aspect deceives you; what do you think is my real age?

TINSEL.

I shou'd guess thee within three years of Methuselah. Prithee, tell me, was't not thou born before the flood.

LADY.

Truly I shou'd guess you to be in your second or

third century. I warrant you, you have great grandchildren with beards of a foot long.

SIR GEORGE.

Ha, ha, ha! If there be truth in man, I was but five and thirty last August. O! the study of the occult sciences makes a man's beard grow faster than you would imagine.

LADY.

What an escape you have had, Mr. Tinsel, that you were not bred a scholar!

TINSEL.

And so I fancy, Doctor, thou think'st me an illiterate fellow, because I have a smooth chin?

SIR GEORGE.

Hark ye, sir, a word in your ear. You are a coxcomb by all the rules of physiognomy: but let that be a secret between you and me. [*Aside to Tinsel.*

LADY.

Pray, Mr. Tinsel, what is it the doctor whispers?

TINSEL.

Only a compliment, child, upon two or three of my features. It does not become me to repeat it.

LADY.

Pray, Doctor, examine this gentleman's face, and tell me his fortune.

SIR GEORGE.

If I may believe the lines of his face, he likes it better than I do, or——than you do, fair lady.

TINSEL.

Widow, I hope now thou'rt convinc'd he's a cheat.

LADY.

For my part I believe he's a witch—go on Doctor.

SIR GEORGE.

He will be cross'd in love; and that soon.

TINSEL.

Prithee, Doctor, tell us the truth. Dost not thou live in Moorfields?

SIR GEORGE.

Take my word for it, thou shalt never live in my lady Truman's mansion-house.

TINSEL.

Pray, old gentleman, hast thou never been pluck'd by the beard when thou wert saucy?

LADY.

Nay, Mr. Tinsel, you are angry! do you think I wou'd marry a man that dares not have his fortune told?

SIR GEORGE.

Let him be angry—I matter not—he is but short-liv'd. He will soon die of——

TINSEL.

Come, come, speak out, old Hocus, he, he, he! this fellow makes me burst with laughing. [*Forces a laugh.*

SIR GEORGE.

He will soon die of a fright——or of the——let me see your nose——Ay—'tis so!

TINSEL.

You son of a whore! I'll run ye through the body. I never yet made the sun shine through a conjurer——

LADY.

Oh, fy, Mr. Tinsel! you will not kill an old man?

TINSEL.

An old man! the dog says he's but five and thirty.

LADY.

Oh, fy, Mr. Tinsel! I did not think you could have been so passionate; I hate a passionate man. Put up your sword, or I must never see you again.

TINSEL.

Ha, ha, ha! I was but in jest, my dear. I had a mind to have made an experiment upon the doctor's body. I would but have drill'd a little eyelet-hole in it, and have seen whether he had art enough to close it up again.

SIR GEORGE.

Courage is but ill shown before a lady. But know, if ever I meet thee again, thou shalt find this arm can wield other weapons besides this wand.

TINSEL.

Ha, ha, ha!

LADY.

Well, learned sir, you are to give a proof of your art, not of your courage. Or if you will shew your courage, let it be at nine o'clock——for that is the time the noise is generally heard.

TINSEL.

And look ye, old gentleman, if thou dost not do thy business well, I can tell thee by the little skill I have, that thou wilt be toss'd in a blanket before ten. We'll do our endeavour to send thee back to the stars again.

SIR GEORGE.

I'll go and prepare myself for the ceremonies——

And, lady, as you expect they shou'd succeed to your wishes, treat that fellow with the contempt he deserves.

[*Exit Sir George.*

TINSEL.

The sauciest dog I ever talk'd with in my whole life!

LADY.

Methinks he's a diverting fellow; one may see he's no fool.

TINSEL.

No fool! Ay, but thou dost not take him for a conjurer.

LADY.

Truly I don't know what to take him for; I am resolv'd to employ him however. When a sickness is desperate we often try remedies that we have no great faith in.

ENTER ABIGAL.

ABIGAL.

Madam, the tea is ready in the parlour as you ordered.

LADY.

Come, Mr. Tinsel, we may there talk of this subject more at leisure. [*Exeunt Lady and Tinsel.*

ABIGAL *sola.*

Sure never any lady had such servants as mine has! Well, if I get this thousand pound, I hope to have some of my own. Let me see, I'll have a pretty tight girl—— just such as I was ten years ago (I'm afraid I may say twenty) she shall dress me and flatter me——for I will be flatter'd, that's pos! My lady's cast suits will serve

her after I have given them the wearing. Besides, when I am worth a thousand pound, I shall certainly carry off the steward——Madam Vellum!—how prettily that will sound! here, bring out Madam Vellum's chaise—nay, I do not know but it may be a chariot—It will break the attorney's wife's heart—for I shall take place of every body in the parish but my lady. If I have a son, he shall be call'd Fantome. But see Mr. Vellum, as I could wish. I know his humour, and will do my utmost to gain his heart.

ENTER VELLUM, *with a pint of sack.*

VELLUM.

Mrs. Abigal, don't I break in upon you unseasonably?

ABIGAL.

Oh, no, Mr. Vellum, your visits are always seasonable.

VELLUM.

I have brought with me a taste of fresh Canary, which I think is delicious.

ABIGAL.

Pray set it down——I have a dram glass just by—
[*Brings in a rummer.*
I'll pledge you; my lady's good health.

VELLUM.

And your own with it—sweet Mrs. Abigal.

ABIGAL.

Pray, good Mr. Vellum, buy me a little parcel of this sack, and put it under the article of tea—I would not have my name appear to it.

VELLUM.

Mrs. Abigal, your name seldom appears in my bills—and yet—if you will allow me a merry expression——You have been always in my books, Mrs. Abigal. Ha, ha, ha!

ABIGAL.

Ha, ha, ha! Mr. Vellum, you are such a dry jesting man!

VELLUM.

Why, truly, Mrs. Abigal, I have been looking over my papers—and I find you have been a long time my debtor.

ABIGAL.

Your debtor; for what Mr. Vellum?

VELLUM.

For my heart, Mrs. Abigal——And our accounts will not be balanc'd between us, till I have yours in exchange for it. Ha, ha, ha!

ABIGAL.

Ha, ha, ha! You are the most gallant dun, Mr. Vellum.

VELLUM.

But I am not us'd to be paid by words only, Mrs. Abigal! when will you be out of my debt?

ABIGAL.

Oh, Mr. Vellum, you make one blush——My humble service to you.

VELLUM.

'I must answer you, Mrs. Abigal, in the country phrase——' Your love is sufficient.' Ha, ha, ha!

ABIGAL.

Ha, ha, ha! Well, I must own I love a merry man!

VELLUM.

Let me see, how long is it, Mrs. Abigal, since I first broke my mind to you——It was, I think, *Undecimo Gulielmi*——We have convers'd together these fifteen years—and yet, Mrs. Abigal, I must drink to our better acquaintance. He, he, he—Mrs. Abigal, you know I am naturally jocose.

ABIGAL.

Ah, you men love to make sport with us silly creatures.

VELLUM.

Mrs. Abigal, I have a trifle about me, which I wou'd willingly make you a present of. It is, indeed, but a little toy.

ABIGAL.

You are always exceedingly obliging.

VELLUM.

It is but a little toy—scarce worth your acceptance.

ABIGAL.

Pray do not keep me in suspense; what is it, Mr. Vellum?

VELLUM.

A silver thimble.

ABIGAL.

I always said Mr. Vellum was a generous lover.

VELLUM.

But I must put it on myself, Mrs. Abigal——You

have the prettiest tip of a finger——I must take the freedom to salute it.

ABIGAL.

Oh fye! you make me ashamed Mr. Vellum; how can you do so? I protest I am in such a confusion.—
[*A feign'd struggle.*

VELLUM.

This finger is not the finger of idleness; it bears the honourable scars of the needle——But why are you so cruel as not to pare your nails?

ABIGAL.

Oh, I vow you press it so hard! pray give me my finger again.

VELLUM.

This middle finger, Mrs. Abigal, has a pretty neighbour——A wedding ring would become it mightily—. He, he, he!

ABIGAL.

You're so full of your jokes. Ay, but where must I find one for it?

VELLUM.

I design this thimble only as the forerunner of it, they will set off each other, and are——indeed a two-fold emblem. The first will put you in mind of being a good huswife, and the other of being a good wife. Ha, ha, ha!

ABIGAL.

Yes, yes, I see you laugh at me.

VELLUM.

Indeed I am serious.

ABIGAL.

I thought you had quite forsaken me——I am sure

you cannot forget the many repeated vows and promises you formerly made me.

VELLUM.

I shou'd as soon forget the multiplication table.

ABIGAL.

I have always taken your part before my lady.

VELLUM.

You have so, and I have item'd it in my memory.

ABIGAL.

For I have always look'd upon your interest as my own.

VELLUM.

It is nothing but your cruelty can hinder them from being so.

ABIGAL.

I must strike while the iron's hot. [*Aside.*]—Well, Mr. Vellum, there is no refusing you, you have such a bewitching tongue!

VELLUM.

How? Speak that again!

ABIGAL.

Why then in plain English, I love you.

VELLUM.

I'm overjoyed!

ABIGAL.

I must own my passion for you.

VELLUM.

I'm transported! [*Catches her in his arms.*

ABIGAL.

Dear charming man!

VELLUM.

Thou sum total of all my happiness! I shall grow extravagant! I can't forbear!——to drink thy virtuous inclinations in a bumper of sack. Your lady must make haste, my duck, or we shall provide a young steward to the estate, before she has an heir to it—prithee my dear, does she intend to marry Mr. Tinsel?

ABIGAL.

Marry him! my love, no, no! we must take care of that! there would be no staying in the house for us if she did. That young rake-hell wou'd send all the old servants a grazing. You and I shou'd be discarded before the honey-moon was at an end.

VELLUM.

Prithee, sweet one; does not this drum put the thoughts of marriage out of her head?

ABIGAL.

This drum, my dear, if it be well manag'd, will be no less than a thousand pound in our way.

VELLUM.

Ay, say'st thou so, my turtle?

ABIGAL.

Since we are now as good as man and wife—I mean almost as good as man and wife——I ought to conceal nothing from you.

VELLUM.

Certainly my dove, not from thy yoke-fellow, thy help-mate, thy own flesh and blood!

ABIGAL.

Hush! I hear Mr. Tinsel's laugh, my lady and he are a coming this way; if you will take a turn without, I'll tell you the whole contrivance.

VELLUM.

Give me your hand, chicken.

ABIGAL.

Here, take it, you have my heart already.

VELLUM.

We shall have much issue. [*Exeunt.*

ACT IV.

SCENE, I.

ENTER VELLUM AND BUTLER.

VELLUM.

JOHN, I have certain orders to give you——and therefore be attentive.

BUTLER.

Attentive! Ay, let me alone for that.——I suppose he means being sober. [*Aside.*

VELLUM.

You know I have always recommended to you a method in your business, I wou'd have your knives and forks, your spoons and napkins, your plates and glasses, laid in a method.

BUTLER.

Ah, Master Vellum, you are such a sweet spoken man, it does one's heart good to receive your orders.

VELLUM.

Method, John, makes business easy, it banishes all perplexity and confusion out of families.

BUTLER.

How he talks! I cou'd hear him all day.

VELLUM.

And now, John, let me know whether your table

linen, your side-board, your cellar, and every thing else within your province, are properly and methodically dispos'd for an entertainment this evening.

BUTLER.

Master Vellum, they shall be ready at a quarter of an hour's warning. But pray, sir, is this entertainment to be made for the conjurer?

VELLUM.

It is, John, for the conjurer, and yet it is not for the conjurer.

BUTLER.

Why, look you Master Vellum, if it is for the conjurer, the cook-maid shou'd have orders to get him some dishes to his palate. Perhaps he may like a little brimstone in his sauce.

VELLUM.

This conjurer, John, is a complicated creature, an amphibious animal, a person of a twofold nature——But he eats and drinks like other men.

BUTLER.

Marry, Master Vellum, he shou'd eat and drink as much as two other men, by the account you give of him.

VELLUM.

Thy conceit is not amiss, he is indeed a double man, ha, ha, ha!

BUTLER.

Ha! I understand you, he's one of your hermaphrodites, as they call 'em.

VELLUM.

He is married, and he is not married.——He hath

a beard, and he hath no beard. He is old, and he is young.

BUTLER.

How charmingly he talks! I fancy, Master Vellum, you cou'd make a riddle. The same man old and young! How do you make that out, Master Vellum?

VELLUM.

Thou hast heard of a snake casting his skin, and recovering his youth. Such is this sage person.

BUTLER.

Nay, 'tis no wonder a conjurer shou'd be like a serpent.

VELLUM.

When he has thrown aside the old conjurer's slough that hangs about him, he'll come out as fine a young gentleman as ever was seen in this house.

BUTLER.

Does he intend to sup in his slough?

VELLUM.

That time will show.

BUTLER.

Well, I have not a head for these things. Indeed, Mr. Vellum, I have not understood one word you have said this half hour.

VELLUM.

I did not intend thou should'st——But to our business—Let there be a table spread in the great hall. Let your pots and glasses be wash'd, and in a readiness. Bid the cook provide a plentiful supper, and see that all the servants be in their best liveries.

BUTLER.

Ay, now I understand every word you say. But I wou'd rather hear you talk a little in that t'other way.

VELLUM.

I shall explain to thee what I have said by and by. ——Bid Susan lay two pillows upon your lady's bed.

BUTLER.

Two pillows! Madam won't sleep upon 'em both! She is not a double woman too?

VELLUM.

She will sleep upon neither. But hark, Mrs. Abigal! I think I hear her chiding the cook-maid.

BUTLER.

Then I'll away, or it will be my turn next; she, I am sure, speaks plain English, one may easily understand every word she says. [*Exit Butler.*

VELLUM *solus.*

VELLUM.

Servants are good for nothing, unless they have an opinion of the person's understanding who has the direction of them——But see Mrs. Abigal! she has a bewitching countenance, I wish I may not be tempted to marry her in good earnest.

ENTER ABIGAL.

ABIGAL.

Ha! Mr. Vellum.

VELLUM.

What brings my sweet one hither?

ABIGAL.

I am coming to speak to my friend behind the wainscot. It is fit, child, he should have an account of this conjurer, that he may not be surpris'd.

VELLUM.

That would be as much as thy thousand pound is worth.

ABIGAL.

I'll speak low—walls have ears.

[*Pointing at the wainscot.*

VELLUM.

But hark you ducklin! be sure you do not tell him that I am let into the secret.

ABIGAL.

That's a good one indeed! as if I should ever tell what passes between you and me.

VELLUM.

No, no, my child, that must not be; he, he, he! that must not be; he, he, he!

ABIGAL.

You will always be waggish.

VELLUM.

Adieu, and let me hear the result of your conference.

ABIGAL.

How can you leave one so soon? I shall think it an age till I see you again.

VELLUM.

Adieu my pretty one.

ABIGAL.

Adieu sweet Mr. Vellum.

VELLUM.

My pretty one—— [*As he is going off.*

ABIGAL.

Dear Mr. Vellum!

VELLUM.

My pretty one! [*Exit Vellum.*

ABIGAL *sola.*

ABIGAL.

I have him—if I can but get this thousand pound.

[*Fantome gives three raps upon his drum behind the wainscot.*

ABIGAL.

Ha! three raps upon the drum! the signal Mr. Fantom and I agreed upon, when he had a mind to speak with me. [*Fantome raps again.*

ABIGAL.

Very well, I hear you; come fox, come out of your hole.

Scene opens, and Fantome comes out.

ABIGAL.

You may leave your drum in the wardrobe, till you have occasion for it.

FANTOME.

Well, Mrs. Abigal, I want to hear what is a-doing in the world.

ABIGAL.

You are a very inquisitive spirit. But I must tell you, if you do not take care of yourself, you will be laid this evening.

FANTOME.

I have overheard something of that matter. But let me alone for the doctor——I'll engage to give a good account of him. I am more in pain about Tinsel. When a lady 's in the case, I'm more afraid of one fop than twenty conjurers.

ABIGAL.

To tell you truly, he presses his attacks with so much impudence, that he has made more progress with my lady in two days, than you did in two months.

FANTOME.

I shall attack her in another manner, if thou canst but procure me another interview. There's nothing makes a lover so keen, as being kept up in the dark.

ABIGAL.

Pray no more of your distant bows, your respectful compliments——Really, Mr. Fantome, you're only fit to make love across a tea-table.

FANTOME.

My dear girl, I can't forbear hugging thee for thy good advice.

ABIGAL.

Ay, now I have some hopes of you; but why don't you do so to my lady?

FANTOME.

Child, I always thought your lady loved to be treated with respect.

ABIGAL.

Believe me, Mr. Fantome, there is not so great a difference between woman and woman, as you imagine. You see Tinsel has nothing but his sauciness to recommend him.

FANTOME.

Tinsel is too great a coxcomb to be capable of love—And let me tell thee, Abigal, a man who is sincere in his passion, makes but a very awkward profession of it—But I'll mend my manners.

ABIGAL.

Ay, or you'll never gain a widow——Come, I must tutor you a little; suppose me to be my lady, and let me see how you'll behave yourself.

FANTOME.

I'm afraid, child, we han't time for such a piece of mummery.

ABIGAL.

Oh, it will be quickly over, if you play your part well.

FANTOME.

Why then, dear Mrs. Ab—— I mean my Lady Truman.

ABIGAL.

Ay! but you han't saluted me.

FANTOME.

That's right; faith I forgot that circumstance. [*Kisses her.*] Nectar and Ambrosia!

ABIGAL.

That's very well——

FANTOME.

How long must I be condemned to languish! when shall my sufferings have an end! My life! my happiness, my all is wound up in you——

ABIGAL.

Well! why don't you squeeze my hand?

FANTOME.

What, thus?

ABIGAL.

Thus? Ay——Now throw your arm about my middle; hug me closer.—You are not afraid of hurting me! Now pour forth a volley of rapture and nonsense, till you are out of breath.

FANTOME.

Transport and ecstasy! where am I!—my life, my bliss!—I rage, I burn, I bleed, I die.

ABIGAL.

Go on, go on.

FANTOME.

Flames and darts—Bear me to the gloomy shade, rocks and grottoes—flowers, zephyrs, and purling streams.

ABIGAL.

Oh! Mr. Fantome, you have a tongue would undo a vestal! You were born for the ruin of our sex.

FANTOME.

This will do then, Abigal?

ABIGAL.

Ay, this is talking like a lover. Though I only represent my lady, I take a pleasure in hearing you. Well, o' my conscience when a man of sense has a little dash of the coxcomb in him, no woman can resist him. Go on at this rate, and the thousand pound is as good as in my pocket.

FANTOME.

I shall think it an age till I have an opportunity of putting this lesson in practice.

ABIGAL.

You may do it soon, if you make good use of your

time; Mr. Tinsel will be here with my lady at eight, and at nine the conjurer is to take you in hand.

FANTOME.

Let me alone with both of them.

ABIGAL.

Well! fore-warn'd, fore-arm'd. Get into your box, and I'll endeavour to dispose every thing in your favour.
[*Fantome goes in. Exit Abigal.*

ENTER VELLUM.

VELLUM.

Mrs. Abigal is withdrawn.——I was in hopes to have heard what passed between her and her invisible correspondent.

ENTER TINSEL.

TINSEL.

Vellum! Vellum!

VELLUM.

Vellum! We are, methinks, very familiar; I am not used to be called so by any but their ho--nours [*Aside.*] —What would you, Mr. Tinsel?

TINSEL.

Let me beg a favour of thee, old gentleman.

VELLUM.

What is that, good sir?

TINSEL.

Prithee, run and fetch me the rent-roll of thy lady's estate.

VELLUM.

The rent-roll?

TINSEL.

The rent-roll? Ay, the rent-roll! dost not understand what that means?

VELLUM.

Why? have you thoughts of purchasing of it?

TINSEL.

Thou hast hit it, old boy; that is my very intention.

VELLUM.

The purchase will be considerable.

TINSEL.

And for that reason I have bid thy lady very high—She is to have no less for it than this entire person of mine.

VELLUM.

Is your whole estate personal, Mr. Tinsel?—he, he, he!

TINSEL.

Why, you queer old dog, you don't pretend to jest, d'ye? Look ye, Vellum, if you think of being continued my steward, you must learn to walk with your toes out.

VELLUM.

An insolent companion! [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

Thou'rt confounded rich, I see, by that dangling of thy arms.

VELLUM.

An ungracious bird! [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

Thou shalt lend me a couple of thousand pounds.

VELLUM.

A very profligate! [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

Look ye, Vellum, I intend to be kind to you——I'll borrow some money of you.

VELLUM.

I cannot but smile to consider the disappointment this young fellow will meet with; I will make myself merry with him. [*Aside.*] And so, Mr. Tinsel, you promise you will be a very kind master to me?

[*Stifling a laugh.*

TINSEL.

What will you give for a life in the house you live in?

VELLUM.

What do you think of five hundred pounds?——Ha, ha, ha!

TINSEL.

That's too little.

VELLUM.

And yet it is more than I shall give you——And I will offer you two reasons for it.

TINSEL.

Prithee, what are they?

VELLUM.

First, because the tenement is not in your disposal; and, secondly, because it never will be in your disposal: and so fare you well, good Mr. Tinsel. Ha, ha, ha! You will pardon me for being jocular. [*Exit Vellum.*

TINSEL.

This rogue is as saucy as the conjurer; I'll be hang'd if they are not a-kin.

ENTER LADY.

LADY.

Mr. Tinsel! what, all alone? You free-thinkers are great admirers of solitude.

TINSEL.

No, faith, I have been talking with thy steward; a very grotesque figure of a fellow, the very picture of one of our benchers. How can you bear his conversation?

LADY.

I keep him for my steward, and not my companion. He's a sober man.

TINSEL.

Yes, yes, he looks like a put——a queer old dog as ever I saw in my life: we must turn him off, widow. He cheats thee confoundedly, I see that.

LADY.

Indeed you're mistaken, he has always had the reputation of being a very honest man.

TINSEL.

What, I suppose he goes to church.

LADY.

Goes to church! so do you too, I hope.

TINSEL.

I would for once, widow, to make sure of you.

LADY.

Ah, Mr. Tinsel, a husband who would not continue to go thither, would quickly forget the promises he made there.

TINSEL.

Faith, very innocent, and very ridiculous! Well then, I warrant thee, widow, thou would'st not for the world marry a Sabbath-breaker!

LADY.

Truly, they generally come to a bad end. I remember the conjurer told you, you were short liv'd.

TINSEL.

The conjurer! Ha, ha, ha!

LADY.

Indeed you're very witty!

TINSEL.

Indeed you're very handsome. [*Kisses her hand.*

LADY.

I wish the fool does not love me! [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

Thou art the idol I adore. Here must I pay my devotion——Prithee, widow, hast thou any timber upon thy estate?

LADY.

The most impudent fellow I ever met with. [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

I take notice thou hast a great deal of old plate here in the house, widow.

LADY.

Mr. Tinsel, you are a very observing man.

TINSEL.

Thy large silver cistern would make a very good coach; and half a dozen salvers that I saw on the side-

board, might be turn'd into six as pretty horses as any that appear in the ring.

LADY.

You have a very good fancy, Mr. Tinsel——What pretty transformations you could make in my house—But I'll see where 'twill end. [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

Then I observe, child, you have two or three services of gilt plate; we'd eat always in china, my dear.

LADY.

I perceive you are an excellent manager——How quickly you have taken an inventory of my goods!

TINSEL.

Now, hark ye, widow, to show you the love that I have for you———

LADY.

Very well, let me hear.

TINSEL.

You have an old-fashioned gold caudle-cup, with the figure of a saint upon the lid on't.

LADY.

I have: what then?

TINSEL.

Why, look ye, I'd sell the caudle-cup with the old saint for as much money as they'd fetch, which I would convert into a diamond buckle, and make you a present of it.

LADY.

Oh, you are generous to an extravagance. But, pray, Mr. Tinsel, don't dispose of my goods before you are sure of my person. I find you have taken a great affection to my moveables.

TINSEL.

My dear, I love every thing that belongs to you.

LADY.

I see you do, sir, you need not make any protestations upon that subject.

TINSEL.

Pho, pho, my dear, we are growing serious; and, let me tell you, that's the very next step to being dull. Come, that pretty face was never made to look grave with.

LADY.

Believe me, sir, whatever you may think, marriage is a serious subject.

TINSEL.

For that very reason, my dear, let us get over it as fast as we can.

LADY.

I shou'd be very much in haste for a husband, if I married within fourteen months after Sir George's decease.

TINSEL.

Pray, my dear, let me ask you a question; dost not thou think that Sir George is as dead at present, to all intents and purposes, as he will be a twelvemonth hence?

LADY.

Yes: but decency, Mr. Tinsel——

TINSEL.

Or dost thou think thou'lt be more a widow then than thou art now?

LADY.

The world would say I never lov'd my first husband.

TINSEL.

Ah, my dear, they wou'd say you lov'd your second; and they wou'd own I deserv'd it, for I shall love thee most inordinately.

LADY.

But what wou'd people think?

TINSEL.

Think! why they wou'd think thee the mirror of widow-hood.—That a woman shou'd live fourteen whole months after the decease of her spouse, without having engaged herself. Why, about town, we know many a woman of quality's second husband several years before the death of the first.

LADY.

Ay, I know you wits have your common-place jests upon us poor widows.

TINSEL.

I'll tell you a story, widow; I know a certain lady, who, considering the craziness of her husband, had, in case of mortality, engaged herself to two young fellows of my acquaintance. They grew such desperate rivals for her, while her husband was alive, that one of them pink'd the t'other in a duel. But the good lady was no sooner a widow, but what did my dowager do? Why faith, being a woman of honour, she married a third, to whom, it seems, she had given her first promise.

LADY.

And this is a true story upon your own knowledge?

TINSEL.

Every tittle, as I hope to be marry'd, or never believe Tom Tinsel.

LADY.

Pray, Mr. Tinsel, do you call this talking like a wit, or like a rake?

TINSEL.

Innocent enough, He, he, he! Why! where's the difference, my dear?

LADY.

Yes, Mr. Tinsel, the only man I ever loved in my life, had a great deal of the one, and nothing of the other in him.

TINSEL.

Nay, now you grow vapourish; thou'lt begin to fancy thou hear'st the drum by and by.

LADY.

If you had been here last night about this time, you would not have been so merry.

TINSEL.

About this time, say'st thou? Come, faith, for the humour's sake, we'll sit down and listen.

LADY.

I will, if you'll promise to be serious.

TINSEL.

Serious! never fear me, child. Ha, ha, ha! Dost not hear him?

LADY.

You break your word already. Pray, Mr. Tinsel, do you laugh to show your wit or your teeth?

TINSEL.

Why, both! my dear——I'm glad, however, that she has taken notice of my teeth. [*Aside.*] But you look

serious, child; I fancy thou hear'st the drum, dost not?

LADY.

Don't talk so rashly.

TINSEL.

Why, my dear, you cou'd not look more frighted if you had Lucifer's drum-major in your house.

LADY.

Mr. Tinsel, I must desire to see you no more in it, if you do not leave this idle way of talking.

TINSEL.

Child, I thought I had told you what is my opinion of spirits, as we were drinking a dish of tea but just now. ——There is no such thing, I give thee my word.

LADY.

Oh, Mr. Tinsel, your authority must be of great weight to those that know you.

TINSEL.

For my part, child, I have made myself easy in those points.

LADY.

Sure nothing was ever like this fellow's vanity, but his ignorance. [*Aside.*

TINSEL.

I'll tell thee what, now, widow——I wou'd engage by the help of a white sheet and a penny-worth of link, in a dark night, to frighten you a whole country village out of their senses, and the vicar into the bargain. [*Drum beats.*]—Hark! hark! what noise is that! Heaven defend us! this is more than fancy.

LADY.

It beats more terrible than ever.

TINSEL.

'Tis very dreadful! What a dog have I been to speak against my conscience, only to show my parts!

LADY.

It comes nearer and nearer. I wish you have not anger'd it by your foolish discourse.

TINSEL.

Indeed, madam, I did not speak from my heart; I hope it will do me no hurt for a little harmless raillery.

LADY.

Harmless, d'ye call it? it beats hard by us, as if it wou'd break through the wall.

TINSEL.

What a devil had I to do with a white sheet?——[*Scene opens and discovers Fantome.*] Mercy on us! it appears.

LADY.

Oh! 'tis he! 'tis he himself, 'tis Sir George! 'tis my husband. [*She faints.*

TINSEL.

Now wou'd I give ten thousand pound that I were in town. [*Fantome advances to him drumming.*]—I beg ten thousand pardons. I'll never talk at this rate any more. [*Fantome still advances drumming.*]——By my soul, Sir George, I was not in earnest, [*falls on his knees*] have compassion on my youth, and consider I am but a coxcomb—[*Fantome points to the door.*] But see he waves me off——ay, with all my heart——What a devil had I to do with a white sheet? [*He steals off the stage, mending his pace as the drum beats.*

FANTOME.

The scoundrel is gone, and has left his mistress behind him. I'm mistaken if he makes love in this house any more. I have now only the conjurer to deal with. I don't question but I shall make his reverence scamper as fast as the lover. And then the day's my own. But the servants are coming. I must get into my cupboard. [*He goes in.*

ENTER ABIGAL *and Servants.*

ABIGAL.

Oh my poor lady! This wicked drum has frighted Mr. Tinsel out of his wits, and my lady into a swoon. Let me bend her a little forward. She revives. Here, carry her into the fresh air, and she'll recover. [*They carry her off.*] This is a little barbarous to my lady, but 'tis all for her good: and I know her so well, that she wou'd not be angry with me, if she knew what I was to get by it. And if any of her friends shou'd blame me for it hereafter,

I'll clap my hand upon my purse and tell 'em,
'Twas for a thousand pound and Mr. Vellum.

ACT V.

SCENE I.

ENTER SIR GEORGE *in his conjurer's habit, the* BUTLER *marching before him with two large candles, and the two Servants coming after him, one bringing a little table, and another a chair.*

BUTLER.

AN'T please your worship, Mr. Conjurer, the steward has given all of us orders to do whatsoever you shall bid us, and to pay you the same respect as if you were our master.

SIR GEORGE.

Thou says't well.

GARDENER.

An't please your conjurership's worship, shall I set the table down here?

SIR GEORGE.

Here, Peter.

GARDENER.

Peter!—he knows my name by his learning. [*Aside.*

COACHMAN.

I have brought you, reverend sir, the largest elbow-chair in the house; 'tis that the steward sits in when he holds a court.

SIR GEORGE.

Place it there.

BUTLER.

Sir, will you please to want any thing else?

SIR GEORGE.

Paper, and a pen and ink.

BUTLER.

Sir, I believe we have paper that is fit for your purpose! my lady's mourning paper, that is black'd at the edges—wou'd you chuse to write with a crow quill?

SIR GEORGE.

There is none better.

BUTLER.

Coachman, go fetch the paper and standish out of the little parlour.

COACHMAN. [*To the Gardener.*]

Peter, prithee do thou go along with me——I'm afraid——You know I went with you last night into the garden, when the cook-maid wanted a handful of parsley.

BUTLER.

Why, you don't think I'll stay with the conjurer by myself!

GARDENER.

Come, we'll all three go and fetch the pen and ink together. [*Exeunt Servants.*

SIR GEORGE *solus.*

There's nothing, I see, makes such strong alliances as fear. These fellows are all enter'd into a confederacy

against the ghost. There must be abundance of business done in the family at this rate. But here comes the triple alliance. Who could have thought these three rogues cou'd have found each of 'em an employment in fetching a pen and ink!

ENTER GARDENER *with a sheet of paper*, COACHMAN *with a standish, and* BUTLER *with a pen.*

GARDENER.

Sir, there is your paper.

COACHMAN.

Sir, there is your standish.

BUTLRE.

Sir, there is your crow-quill pen——I'm glad I have got rid on't. [*Aside.*

GARDENER.

He forgets that he's to make a circle——[*Aside.*] Doctor shall I help you to a bit of chalk?

SIR GEORGE.

It is no matter.

BUTLER.

Look ye, sir, I show'd you the spot where he's heard oftenest, if your worship can but ferret him out of that old wall in the next room——

SIR GEORGE.

We shall try.

GARDENER.

That's right, John. His worship must let fly all his learning at that old wall.

BUTLER.

Sir, if I was worthy to advise you, I wou'd have a

bottle of good October by me. Shall I set a cup of old stingo at your elbow?

SIR GEORGE.

I thank thee—we shall do without it.

GARDENER.

John, he seems a very good-natur'd man for a conjurer.

BUTLER.

I'll take this opportunity of inquiring after a bit of plate I have lost. I fancy, whilst he is in my lady's pay, one may hedge in a question or two into the bargain. Sir, Sir, may I beg a word in your ear?

SIR GEORGE.

What would'st thou!

BUTLER.

Sir, I know I need not tell you, that I lost one of my silver spoons last week.

SIR GEORGE.

Mark'd with a swan's neck—

BUTLER.

My lady's crest! He knows every thing. [*Aside.*] How would your worship advise me to recover it again?

SIR GEORGE.

Hum!

BUTLER.

What must I do to come at it?

SIR GEORGE.

Drink nothing but small-beer for a fortnight—

BUTLER.

Small-beer! Rot-gut!

SIR GEORGE.

If thou drink'st a single drop of ale before fifteen days are expir'd—it is as much—as thy spoon—is worth.

BUTLER.

I shall never recover it that way; I'll e'en buy a new one. [*Aside.*

COACHMAN.

D'ye mind how they whisper?

GARDENER.

I'll be hang'd if he be not asking him something about Nell—

COACHMAN.

I'll take this opportunity of putting a question to him about poor Dobbin: I fancy he cou'd give me better counsel than the farrier.

BUTLER. [*To the Gardener.*]

A prodigious man! he knows every thing: Now is the time to find out thy pick-axe.

GARDENER.

I have nothing to give him: does not he expect to have his hand cross'd with silver?

COACHMAN. [*To Sir George.*]

Sir, may a man venture to ask you a question?

SIR GEORGE.

Ask it.

COACHMAN.

I have a poor horse in the stable that's bewitched—

SIR GEORGE.

A bay gelding.

COACHMAN.

How could he know that?— [*Aside.*

SIR GEORGE.

Bought at Banbury.

COACHMAN.

Whew——so it was o' my conscience. [*Whistles.*

SIR GEORGE.

Six years old last Lammas.

COACHMAN.

To a day. [*Aside.*] Now, sir, I would know whether the poor beast is bewitch'd by Goody Crouch, or Goody Flye?

SIR GEORGE.

Neither.

COACHMAN.

Then it must be Goody Gurton! for she is the next oldest woman in the parish.

GARDENER.

Hast thou done, Robin?

COACHMAN. [*To the Gardener.*]

He can tell thee any thing.

GARDENER. [*To Sir George.*]

Sir, I wou'd beg to take you a little further out of hearing—

SIR GEORGE.

Speak.

GARDENER.

The Butler and I, Mr. Doctor, were both of us in love at the same time with a certain person.

SIR GEORGE.

A woman.

GARDENER.

How could he know that? [*Aside.*

SIR GEORGE.

Go on.

GARDENER.

This woman has lately had two children at a birth.

SIR GEORGE.

Twins.

GARDENER.

Prodigious! where could he hear that? [*Aside.*

SIR GEORGE.

Proceed.

GARDENER.

Now, because I us'd to meet her sometimes in the garden, she has laid them both——

SIR GEORGE.

To thee.

GARDENER.

What a power of learning he must have! he knows every thing. [*Aside.*

SIR GEORGE.

Hast thou done?

GARDENER.

I would desire to know whether I am really father to them both.

SIR GEORGE.

Stand before mé, let me survey thee round. [*Lays his wand upon his head and makes him turn about.*]

COACHMAN.

Look yonder John, the silly dog is turning about under the conjurer's wand. If he has been saucy to him, we shall see him puff'd off in a whirlwind immediately.

SIR GEORGE.

Twins dost thou say? [*Still turning him.*

GARDENER.

Ay, are they both mine d'ye think?

SIR GEORGE.

Own but one of them.

GARDENER.

Ah, but Mrs. Abigal will have me take care of them both——she's always for the Butler——If my poor master Sir George had been alive, he wou'd have made him go halves with me.

SIR GEORGE.

What, was Sir George a kind master?

GARDENER.

Was he! ay, my fellow-servants will bear me witness.

SIR GEORGE.

Did ye love Sir George?

BUTLER.

Every body lov'd him——

COACHMAN.

There was not a dry eye in the parish at the news of his death——

GARDENER.

He was the best neighbour——

BUTLER.

The kindest husband——

COACHMAN.

The truest friend to the poor——

BUTLER.

My good lady took on mightily, we all thought it wou'd have been the death of her——

SIR GEORGE.

I protest these fellows melt me! I think the time long till I am their master again, that I may be kind to them. [*Aside.*

ENTER VELLUM.

VELLUM.

Have you provided the doctor ev'ry thing he has occasion for? if so—you may depart.

[*Exeunt Servants.*

SIR GEORGE.

I can as yet see no hurt in my wife's behaviour; but still have some certain pangs and doubts, that are natural to the heart of a fond man. I must take the advantage of my disguise to be thoroughly satisfied. It wou'd neither be for her happiness, nor mine, to make myself known to her till I am so. [*Aside.*] Dear Vellum! I am impatient to hear some news of my wife, how does she after her fright?

VELLUM.

It is a saying somewhere in my Lord Coke, that a widow——

SIR GEORGE.

I ask of my wife, and thou talk'st to me of my Lord Coke——prithee tell me how she does, for I am in pain for her.

VELLUM.

She is pretty well recover'd, Mrs. Abigal has put her in good heart; and I have given her great hopes from your skill.

SIR GEORGE.

That I think cannot fail, since thou hast got this secret out of Abigal. But I cou'd not have thought my friend Fantome would have served me thus——

VELLUM.

You will still fancy you are a living man——

SIR GEORGE.

That he should endeavour to ensnare my wife.

VELLUM.

You have no right in her, after your demise: death extinguishes all property.—*2uoad hanc*—It is a maxim in the law.

SIR GEORGE.

A pox on your learning! Well, but what is become of Tinsel.

VELLUM.

He rush'd out of the house, call'd for his horse, clapp'd spurs to his sides, and was out of sight in less time than I can—tell—ten.

SIR GEORGE.

This is whimsical enough! my wife will have a quick succession of lovers in one day——Fantome has driven out Tinsel, and I shall drive out Fantome.

VELLUM.

Ev'n as one wedge driveth out another——he, he, he! you must pardon me for being jocular.

SIR GEORGE.

Was there ever such a provoking blockhead! but he means me well. [*Aside.*] Well! I must have satisfaction of this traitor, Fantome; and cannot take a more proper one, than by turning him out of my house, in a manner that shall throw shame upon him, and make him ridiculous as long as he lives.—You must remember, Vellum, you have abundance of business upon your hands, and I have but just time to tell it you over; all I require of you is dispatch, therefore hear me.

VELLUM.

There is nothing more requisite in business than dispatch——

SIR GEORGE.

Then hear me.

VELLUM.

It is indeed the life of business——

SIR GEORGE.

Hear me then, I say.

VELLUM.

And as one has rightly observed, the benefit that attends it is four-fold. First——

SIR GEORGE.

There is no bearing this! Thou art a going to describe dispatch, when thou shouldst be practising it.

VELLUM.

But your ho--nour will not give me the hearing——

SIR GEORGE.

Thou wilt not give me the hearing. [*Angrily.*

VELLUM.

I am still.

SIR GEORGE.

In the first place, you are to lay my wig, hat, and sword, ready for me in the closet, and one of my scarlet coats. You know how Abigal has described the ghost to you.

VELLUM.

It shall be done.

SIR GEORGE.

Then you must remember, whilst I am laying this ghost, you are to prepare my wife for the reception of her real husband; tell her the whole story, and do it with all the art you are master of, that the surprise may not be too great for her.

VELLUM.

It shall be done——But since her ho--nour has seen this apparition, she desires to see you once more, before you encounter it.

SIR GEORGE.

I shall expect her impatiently. For now I can talk to her without being interrupted by that impertinent rogue Tinsel. I hope thou hast not told Abigal any thing of the secret.

VELLUM.

Mrs. Abigal is a woman; there are many reasons why she should not be acquainted with it; I shall only mention six——

SIR GEORGE.

Hush, here she comes! Oh my heart!

ENTER LADY AND ABIGAL.

SIR GEORGE.

[*Aside, while Vellum talks in dumb show to Lady.*] O that lov'd woman! How I long to take her in my arms! If I find I am still dear to her memory, it will be a return to life indeed! But I must take care of indulging this tenderness, and put on a behaviour more suitable to my present character.

[*Walks at a distance in a pensive posture, waving his wand.*]

LADY. [*To Vellum.*]

This is surprising indeed! So all the servants tell me; they say he knows every thing that has happen'd in the family.

ABIGAL. [*Aside.*]

A parcel of credulous fools! they first tell him their secrets, and then wonder how he comes to know them.

[*Exit Vellum, exchanging fond looks with Abigal.*

LADY.

Learned sir, may I have some conversation with you, before you begin your ceremonies?

SIR GEORGE.

Speak! but hold—first let me feel your pulse.

LADY.

What can you learn from that?

SIR GEORGE.

I have already learn'd a secret from it, that will astonish you.

LADY.

Pray, what is it?

SIR GEORGE.

You will have a husband within this half hour.

ABIGAL. [*Aside.*]

I'm glad to hear that——He must mean Mr. Fantome; I begin to think there's a good deal of truth in his art.

LADY.

Alas! I fear you mean I shall see Sir George's apparition a second time.

SIR GEORGE.

Have courage, you shall see the apparition no more. The husband I mention shall be as much alive as I am.

ABIGAL.

Mr. Fantome to be sure. [*Aside.*

LADY.

Impossible! I lov'd my first too well.

SIR GEORGE.

You could not love the first better than you will love the second.

ABIGAL. [*Aside.*]

I'll be hang'd if my dear steward has not instructed him; he means Mr. Fantome to be sure; the thousand pound is our own!

LADY.

Alas! you did not know Sir George.

SIR GEORGE.

As well as I do myself——I saw him with you in the red damask room, when he first made love to you; your mother left you together, under pretence of receiving a visit from Mrs. Hawthorn, on her return from London.

LADY.

This is astonishing!

SIR GEORGE.

You were a great admirer of a single life for the first half hour; your refusals then grew still fainter and fainter. With what ecstasy did Sir George kiss your hand, when you told him you should always follow the advice of your Mamma!

LADY.

Every circumstance to a tittle!

SIR GEORGE.

Then, lady! the wedding night! I saw you in your white satin night-gown? you would not come out of your dressing-room, till Sir George took you out by force. He drew you gently by the hand——you struggled——but he was too strong for you——You blush'd. He——

LADY.

Oh! stop there! go no farther!——He knows every thing. [*Aside.*

ABIGAL.

Truly, Mr. Conjurer, I believe you have been a wag in your youth.

SIR GEORGE.

Mrs. Abigal, you know what your good word cost Sir George, a purse of broad pieces, Mrs. Abigal——

ABIGAL.

The devil's in him. [*Aside.*] Pray, sir, since you have told so far, you should tell my lady that I refus'd to take them.

SIR GEORGE.

'Tis true, child, he was forced to thrust them into your bosom.

ABIGAL.

This rogue will mention the thousand pound, if I don't take care. [*Aside.*] Pray, sir, though you are a conjurer, methinks you need not be a blab——

LADY.

Sir, since I have now no reason to doubt of your art, I must beseech you to treat this apparition gently—— It has the resemblance of my deceas'd husband; if there be any undiscover'd secret, any thing that troubles his rest, learn it of him.

SIR GEORGE.

I must to that end be sincerely informed by you, whether your heart be engaged to another; have not you received the addresses of many lovers since his death?

LADY.

I have been oblig'd to receive more visits than have been agreeable.

SIR GEORGE.

Was not Tinsel welcome?——I'm afraid to hear an answer to my own question. [*Aside.*

LADY.

He was well recommended.

SIR GEORGE.

Racks! [*Aside.*

LADY.

Of a good family.

SIR GEORGE.

Tortures! [*Aside.*

LADY.

Heir to a considerable estate!

SIR GEORGE.

Death! [*Aside.*] And you still love him?——I'm distracted! [*Aside.*

LADY.

No, I despise him. I found he had a design upon my fortune, was base, profligate, cowardly, and every thing that could be expected from a man of the vilest principles!——

SIR GEORGE.

I'm recover'd. [*Aside.*

ABIGAL.

Oh, madam, had you seen how like a scoundrel he look'd when he left your ladyship in a swoon. Where have you left my lady? says I. In an elbow-chair, child, says he. And where are you going? says I. To town, child, says he: for to tell thee truly, child, says he, I don't care for living under the same roof with the devil, says he.

SIR GEORGE.

Well, lady, I see nothing in all this, that may hinder Sir George's spirit from being at rest.

LADY.

If he knows any thing of what passes in my heart, he cannot but be satisfied of that fondness which I bear to his memory. My sorrow for him is always fresh when I think of him. He was the kindest, truest, tenderest ——Tears will not let me go on——.

SIR GEORGE.

This quite o'erpowers me——I shall discover myself before my time. [*Aside.*]——Madam, you may now retire and leave me to myself.

LADY.

Success attend you!

ABIGAL.

I wish Mr. Fantome gets well off from this old don—I know he'll be with him immediately.

[*Exeunt Lady and Abigal.*

SIR GEORGE *solus.*

SIR GEORGE.

My heart is now at ease, she is the same dear woman I left her——Now for my revenge upon Fantome.——I shall cut the ceremonies short——A few words will do his business——Now let me seat myself in form——A good easy chair for a conjurer this!——Now for a few mathematical scratches——a good lucky scrawl, that——faith, I think it looks very astrological—These two or three magical pot-hooks about it, make it a compleat conjurer's scheme. [*Drum beats.*] Ha, ha, ha, sir, are you there? Enter Drummer. Now must I pore upon my paper.

ENTER FANTOME, *beating his drum.*

SIR GEORGE.

Prithee don't make a noise, I'm busy. [*Fantome beats.*]——A pretty march! prithee beat that over again. [*He beats and advances.*

SIR GEORGE. [*Rising.*]

Ha! you're very perfect in the step of a ghost. You stalk it majestically. [*Fantome advances.*]——How the rogue stares! he acts it to admiration; I'll be hang'd if he has not been practising this half hour in Mrs. Abigal's wardrobe. [*Fantome starts, gives a rap upon his drum.*]——Prithee don't play the fool! [*Fantome beats.*]——Nay, nay, enough of this good Mr. Fantome.

FANTOME. [*Aside.*]

Death! I'm discover'd. This jade Abigal has betrayed me.

SIR GEORGE.

Mr. Fantome, upon the word of an astrologer, your thousand pound bribe will never gain my lady Truman.

FANTOME.

'Tis plain, she has told him all. [*Aside.*

SIR GEORGE.

Let me advise you to make off as fast you can, or I plainly perceive by my art, Mr. Ghost will have his bones broke.

FANTOME. [*To Sir George.*]

Look ye, old gentleman, I perceive you have learnt this secret from Mrs. Abigal.

SIR GEORGE.

I have learn'd it from my art.

FANTOME.

Thy art! prithee no more of that. Look ye, I know you are a cheat as much as I am. And if thou'lt keep my counsel, I'll give thee ten broad pieces.——

SIR GEORGE.

I am not mercenary! Young man, I scorn thy gold.

FANTOME.

I'll make them up twenty.——

SIR GEORGE.

Avaunt! and that quickly, or I'll raise such an apparition, as shall———

FANTOME.

An apparition, old gentleman! you mistake your man, I am not to be frighten'd with bugbears.——

SIR GEORGE.

Let me retire but for a few moments, and I will give thee such a proof of my art———

FANTOME.

Why, if thou hast any *hocus pocus* tricks to play, why can'st not do them here?

SIR GEORGE.

The raising of a spirit requires certain secret mysteries to be performed, and words to be mutter'd in private——

FANTOME.

Well, if I see through your trick, will you promise to be my friend?

SIR GEORGE.

I will——attend and tremble. [*Exit.*

FANTOME *solus.*

FANTOME.

A very solemn old ass! but I smoke him,——he has a mind to raise his price upon me. I could not think this slut would have used me thus——I begin to grow horribly tir'd of my drum, I wish I was well rid of it. However I have got this by it, that it has driven off Tinsel for good and all; I shan't have the mortification to see my mistress carried off by such a rival. Well, whatever happens, I must stop this old fellow's mouth, I must not be sparing in hush-money. But here he comes.

ENTER SIR GEORGE *in his own habit.*

FANTOME.

Ha! what's that! Sir George Truman! This can be no counterfeit. His dress! his shape! his face!

the very wound of which he died! Nay, then 'tis time to decamp! [*Runs off.*

SIR GEORGE.

Ha, ha, ha! Fare you well, good Sir George——The enemy has left me master of the field: here are the marks of my victory. This drum will I hang up in my great hall as the trophy of the day.

ENTER ABIGAL.

Sir George stands with his hand before his face in a musing posture.

ABIGAL.

Yonder he is. O'my conscience he has driven off the conjurer. Mr. Fantome, Mr. Fantome! I give you joy, I give you joy. What do you think of your thousand pounds now? Why does not the man speak? [*Pulls him by the sleeve.*

SIR GEORGE.

Ha! [*Taking his hand from his face.*

ABIGAL.

Oh! 'tis my master! [*Shrieks.*

[*Running away he catches her.*

SIR GEORGE.

Good Mrs. Abigal not so fast.

ABIGAL.

Are you alive, sir?——He has given my shoulder such a cursed tweak! they must be real fingers. I feel 'em I'm sure.

SIR GEORGE.

What do'st think?

ABIGAL.

Think, sir? Think? Troth I don't know what to think. Pray, sir how——

SIR GEORGE.

No questions, good Abigal. Thy curiosity shall be satisfied in due time. Where's your lady?

ABIGAL.

Oh, I'm so frighted——and so glad!——

SIR GEORGE.

Where's your lady, I ask you——

ABIGAL.

Marry I don't know where I am myself——I can't forbear weeping for joy——

SIR GEORGE.

Your lady! I say your lady! I must bring you to yourself with one pinch more——

ABIGAL.

Oh! she has been talking a good while with the steward.

SIR GEORGE.

Then he has opened the whole story to her, I'm glad he has prepar'd her. Oh! here she comes.

ENTER LADY *followed by* VELLUM.

LADY.

Where is he? let me fly into his arms! my life! my soul! my husband!

SIR GEORGE.

Oh! let me catch thee to my heart, dearest of women!

LADY.

Are you then still alive, and are you here! I can scarce believe my senses! Now am I happy indeed!

SIR GEORGE.

My heart is too full to answer thee.

LADY.

How could you be so cruel to defer giving me that joy which you knew I must receive from your presence? You have robb'd my life of some hours of happiness that ought to have been in it.

SIR GEORGE.

It was to make our happiness the more sincere and unmix'd. There will be now no doubts to dash it. What has been the affliction of our lives, has given a variety to them, and will hereafter supply us with a thousand materials to talk of.

LADY.

I am now satisfy'd that it is not in the power of absence to lessen your love towards me.

SIR GEORGE.

And I am satisfy'd that it is not in the power of death to destroy that love which makes me the happiest of men.

LADY.

Was ever woman so blest! to find again the darling of her soul, when she thought him lost for ever! to enter into a kind of second marriage with the only man whom she was ever capable of loving!

SIR GEORGE.

May it be as happy as our first, I desire no more! Believe me, my dear, I want words to express those transports of joy and tenderness which are every moment rising in my heart whilst I speak to thee.

Enter Servants.

BUTLER.

Just as the steward told us, lads! look ye there, if he ben't with my lady already.

GARDENER.

He! he! he! what a joyful night will this be for madam!

COACHMAN.

As I was coming in at the gate, a strange gentleman whisk'd by me; but he took to his heels, and made away to the George. If I did not see master before me, I should have sworn it had been his honour.

GARDENER.

Hast given orders for the bells to be set a ringing?

COACHMAN.

Never trouble thy head about that, 'tis done.

SIR GEORGE. [*To lady.*]

My dear, I long as much to tell you my whole story, as you do to hear it. In the mean while, I am to look upon this as my wedding day. I'll have nothing but the voice of mirth and feasting in my house. My poor neighbours and my servants shall rejoice with me. My hall shall be free to every one, and let my cellars be thrown open.

BUTLER.

Ah! bless your honour, may you never die again!

COACHMAN.

The same good man that ever he was!

GARDENER.

Whurra!

SIR GEORGE.

Vellum, thou hast done me much service to-day. I know thou lov'st Abigal, but she's disappointed in a fortune. I'll make it up to both of you. I'll give thee a thousand pound with her. It is not fit there should be one sad heart in my house to-night.

LADY.

What you do for Abigal, I know is meant as a compliment to me. This is a new instance of your love.

ABIGAL.

Mr. Vellum, you are a well-spoken man: pray do you thank my master and my lady.

SIR GEORGE.

Vellum, I hope you are not displeased with the gift I make you.

VELLUM.

The gift is twofold. I receive from you
A virtuous partner, and a portion too;
For which, in humble wise, I thank the donors:
And so we bid good-night to both your ho--nours.

THE EPILOGUE.

SPOKEN BY MRS. OLDFIELD.

TO night the poet's advocate I stand,
And he deserves the favour at my hand,
Who, in my equipage their cause debating,
Has plac'd two lovers, and a third in waiting;
If both the first should from their duty swerve,
There's one behind the wainscote in reserve.
In his next play, if I would take this trouble,
He promis'd me to make the number double:
In troth 'twas spoke like an obliging creature,
For though 'tis simple, yet it shews good-nature.
My help thus ask'd, I could not chuse but grant it,
And really I thought the play would want it,
Void as it is of all the usual arts
To warm your fancies, and to steal your hearts:
No court-intrigue, nor city cuckoldom,
No song, no dance, no music—but a drum—
No smutty thought in doubtful phrase express'd;
And, gentlemen, if so, pray where's the jest?
When we would raise your mirth, you hardly know
Whether, in strictness, you should laugh or no,
But turn upon the ladies in the pit,
And if they redden, you are sure 'tis wit.
Protect him then, ye fair ones; for the fair
Of all conditions are his equal care.
He draws a widow, who of blameless carriage,
True to her jointure, hates a second marriage;
And, to improve a virtuous wife's delights,
Out of one man contrives two wedding nights;
Nay, to oblige the sex in every state,
A nymph of five and forty finds her mate.

Too long has marriage, in this tasteless age,
With ill-bred raillery supply'd the stage;
No little scribbler is of wit so bare,
But has his fling at the poor wedded pair.
Our author deals not in conceits so stale:
For should th' examples of his play prevail,
No man need blush, though true to marriage-vows,
Nor be a jest, though he should love his spouse.
Thus has he done you British consorts right,
Whose husbands, should they pry like mine to night,
Would never find you in your conduct slipping,
Though they turn'd conjurers to take you tripping.

A DISCOURSE

ON

ANCIENT AND MODERN LEARNING.

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THE present age seems to have a very true taste of polite learning, and perhaps takes the beauties of an ancient author, as much as 'tis possible for it at so great a distance of time. It may, therefore, be some entertainment to us to consider what pleasure the cotemporaries and countrymen of our old writers found in their works, which we at present are not capable of; and whether at the same time the moderns may not have some advantages peculiar to themselves, and discover several graces that arise merely from the antiquity of an author.

And here the first and most general advantage the ancients had over us, was, that they knew all the secret history of a composure: what was the occasion of such a discourse or poem, whom such a sentence aimed at,

* There can be no doubt of the genuineness of this piece. The internal marks of its author are many and unequivocal; as must, I think, appear to every attentive reader who has any acquaintance with Mr. Addison's style and manner. But I should guess that it was drawn up by him in his younger days, and that it was not retouched, or at least finished by him. The reason might be, that he had afterwards worked up the principal observations of this piece into his critical papers on Milton.

what person lay disguised in such a character: for by this means they could see their author in a variety of lights, and receive several different entertainments from the same passage. We, on the contrary, can only please ourselves with the wit or good sense of a writer, as it stands stripped of all those accidental circumstances that at first helped to set it off: we have him but in a single view, and only discover such essential standing beauties as no time or years can possibly deface.

I do not question but Homer, who in the diversity of his characters has far excelled all other heroic poets, had an eye on some real persons who were then living, in most of them. The description of Thersites is so spiteful and particular, that I cannot but think it one of his own, or his country's enemies in disguise, as on the contrary his Nestor looks like the figure of some ancient and venerable patriot: an effeminate fop, perhaps, of those times lies hid in Paris, and a crafty statesman in Ulysses: Patroclus may be a compliment on a celebrated friend, and Agamemnon the description of a majestic prince. Ajax, Hector, and Achilles, are all of them valiant, but in so different a manner as perhaps has characterized the different kinds of heroism that Homer had observed in some of his great cotemporaries. Thus far we learn from the poet's life, that he endeavoured to gain favour and patronage by his verse; and it is very probable he thought of this method of ingratiating himself with particular persons, as he has made the drift of the whole poem a compliment on his country in general.

And to shew us, that this is not a bare conjecture only, we are told in the account that is left us of Homer, that he inserted the very names of some of his cotemporaries. Tychius and Mentor in particular are very neatly celebrated in him. The first of these was an honest cobler, who had been very kind and serviceable to the poet, and is therefore advanced in his poem, to be Ajax's shield-maker. The other was a great man in Ithica, who for his patronage and wisdom

has gained a very honourable post in the Odysses, where he accompanies his great countryman in his travels, and gains such a reputation for his prudence, that Minerva took his shape upon her when she made herself visible. Themius was the name of Homer's schoolmaster, but the poet has certainly drawn his own character under, when he sets him forth as a favourite of Apollo, that was deprived of his sight, and used to sing the noble exploits of the Grecians.

Virgil too may well be supposed to give several hints in his poem, which we are not able to take, and to have lain[a] many bye designs and under-plots, which are too remote for us to look into distinctly at so great a distance: but as for the characters of such as lived in his own time, I have not so much to say of him as Homer. He is indeed very barren in this part of his poem, and has but little varied the manners of the principal persons in it. His Æneas is a compound of valour and piety, Achates calls himself his friend, but takes no occasion of shewing himself so; Mnesteus, Sergestus, Gyas, and Cloanthus, are all of them men of the same stamp and character.

——*Fortemq; Gyan, fortemq; Cloanthum.*

Besides, Virgil was so very nice and delicate a writer, that probably he might not think his compliment to Augustus so great, or so artfully concealed, if he had scattered his praises more promiscuously, and made his court to others in the same poem. Had he entertained any such design, Agrippa must in justice have challenged the second place, and if Agrippa's representative had been admitted, Æneas would have had very little to do; which would not have redounded much to the honour of his emperor. If,

[a] *To have lain*] The perfect participle of *lay* is *laid*, not *lain*, which is the perfect participle of the verb *lie*. The same blunder occurs in his notes on Ovid, "—till he had *lain* aside the circle of rays"—speaking of Phœbus in the story of Phaeton. But see the note on that place.

therefore, Virgil has shadowed any great persons besides Augustus in his characters, they are to be found only in the meaner actors of his poem, among the disputers for a petty victory in the fifth book, and perhaps in some few other places. I shall only mention Iopas the philosophical musician at Dido's banquet, where I cannot but fancy some celebrated master complimented, for methinks the epithet Crinitus is so wholly foreign to the purpose, that it perfectly points at some particular person; who, perhaps, (to pursue a wandering guess) was one of the Grecian performers, then in Rome, for besides that they were the best musicians and philosophers, the termination of the name belongs to their language, and the epithet is the same [Καρηκομόωντες] that Homer gives to his countrymen in general.

Now that we may have a right notion of the pleasure we have lost on this account, let us only consider the different entertainment we of the present age meet with in Mr. Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel, from what an English reader will find a hundred years hence, when the figures of the persons concerned are not so lively and fresh in the minds of posterity. Nothing can be more delightful than to see two characters facing each other all along and running parallel through the whole piece, to compare feature with feature, to find out the nice resemblance in every touch, and to see where the copy fails, and where it comes up to the original. The reader cannot but be pleased to have an acquaintance thus rising by degrees in his imagination, for whilst the mind is busy in applying every particular, and adjusting the several parts of the description, it is not a little delighted with its discoveries, and feels something like the satisfaction of an author from his own composure.

What is here said of Homer and Virgil holds very strong in the ancient satirists and authors of dialogues, but especially of comedies. What could we have made of Aristophanes's clouds, had he not told us on whom the ridicule turned; and we have good reason to believe

we should have relished it more then we do, had we known the design of each character, and the secret intimations in every line. Histories themselves often come down to us defective on this account, where the writers are not full enough to give us a perfect notion of occurrences, for the tradition, which at first was a comment on the story, is now quite lost, and the writing only preserved for the information of posterity.

I might be very tedious on this head, but I shall only mention another author who, I believe, received no small advantage from this consideration, and that is Theophrastus, who probably has shown us several of his cotemporaries in the representation of his passions and vices; for we may observe in most of his characters, something foreign to his subject, and some other folly or infirmity mixing itself with the principal argument of his discourse. His eye seems to have been so attentively fixed on the person in whom the vanity reigned, that other circumstances of his behaviour besides those he was to describe insinuated themselves unawares, and crept insensibly into the character. It was hard for him to extract a single folly out of the whole mass without leaving a little mixture in the separation: so that his particular vice appears something discoloured in the description, and his discourse, like a glass set to catch the image of any single object, gives us a lively resemblance of what we look for; but at the same time returns a little shadowy landscape of the parts that lie about it.

And, as the ancients enjoyed no small privilege above us, in knowing the persons hinted at in several of their authors; so they received a great advantage, in seeing often the pictures and images that are frequently described in many of their poets. When Phidias had carved out his Jupiter, and the spectator stood astonished at so awful and majestic a figure, he surprised them more, by telling them it was a copy: and, to make his words true, shewed them the original, in that magnificent description of Jupiter, towards the latter end of the first Iliad. The comparing both to-

gether probably discovered secret graces in each of them, and gave new beauty to their performances: thus in Virgil's first Æneid, where we see the representation of rage bound up, and chained in the temple of Janus:

> ——————————*Furor impius intus*
> *Sæva sedens super arma, & centum vinctus ahenis*
> *Post tergum nodis, fremit horridus ore cruento.*

Though we are much pleased with so wonderful a description, how must the pleasure double on those who could compare the poet and the statuary together, and see which had put most horror and distraction into his figure. But we, who live in these lower ages of the world, are such entire strangers to this kind of diversion, that we often mistake the description of a picture for an allegory, and do not so much as know when it is hinted at. Juvenal tells us, a flatterer will not stick to compare a weak pair of shoulders to those of Hercules, when he lifts up Antæus from the earth. Now, what a forced, unnatural similitude does this seem, amidst the deep silence of scholiasts and commentators? But how full of life and humour, if we may suppose it alluded to some remarkable statue of these two champions, that perhaps stood in a public place of the city? There is now in Rome a very ancient statue entangled in a couple of marble serpents, and so exactly cut in Laocoon's posture and circumstances, that we may be sure Virgil drew after the statuary, or the statuary after Virgil: and if the poet was the copyer, we may be sure it was no small pleasure to a Roman, that could see so celebrated an image outdone in the description.

I might here expatiate largely on several customs that are now forgotten, though often intimated by ancient authors; and particularly, on many expressions of their cotemporary poets, which they had an eye upon in their reflections, though we at present know nothing of the business. Thus Ovid begins the second book of his elegies, with these two lines:

Hæc quoque scribebam Pelignis natus aquosis,
Ille ego nequitiæ Naso poeta meæ.

How far these may prove the four verses prefixed to Virgil's Æneid genuine, I shall not pretend to determine: but I dare say Ovid in this place hints at them if they are so, and I believe every reader will agree that the humour of these lines would be very much heightened by such an allusion, if we suppose a love adventure ushered in with an *Ille Ego*, and taking its rise from something like a preface to the Æneid. Guesses might be numberless on this occasion, and though sometimes they may be grounded falsely, yet they often give a new pleasure to the reader, and throw in abundance of light on the more intricate and obscure passages of an ancient author.

But there is nothing we want more direction in at present than the writings of such ancient authors as abound with humour, especially where the humour runs in a kind of cant, and a particular set of phrases. We may indeed in many places, by the help of a good scholiast, and skill in the customs and language of a country, know that such phrases are humorous, and such a metaphor drawn from a ridiculous custom; but at the same time the ridicule flags, and the mirth languishes to a modern reader, who is not so conversant and familiar with the words and ideas that lie before him; so that the spirit of the jest is quite palled and deadened, and the briskness of an expression lost to an ear[a] that is so little accustomed to it. This want of discerning between the comical and serious style of the ancients, has run our modern editors and commentators into a senseless affectation of Terence's and Plautus's phrases, when they desire to appear pure and classical in their language: so that you often see the grave pedant making a buffoon of himself, where he least designs it, and running into light and trifling phrases, where he would fain appear solemn and judicious.

[a] *The briskness of an expression lost to an ear*] One may swear to the author from this mode of expression.

Another great pleasure the ancients had beyond us, if we consider them as the poet's countrymen, was, that they lived as it were upon the spot, and within the verge of the poem; their habitations lay among the scenes of the Æneid; they could find out their own country in Homer, and had every day, perhaps, in their sight, the mountain or field where such an adventure happened, or such a battle was fought. Many of them had often walked on the banks of Helicon, or the sides of Parnassus, and knew all the private haunts and retirements of the muses: so that they lived as it were on fairy ground, and conversed in an enchanted region, where every thing they looked upon appeared romantic, and gave a thousand pleasing hints to their imaginations. To consider Virgil only in this respect: how must a Roman have been pleased, that was well acquainted with the capes and promontories, to see the original of their names as they stand derived from Misenus, Palinurus, and Cajeta? That could follow the poet's motions, and attend his hero in all his marches from place to place? that was very well acquainted with the lake Amsanctus, where the fury sunk, and could lead you to the mouth of the cave where Æneas took his descent for hell? Their being conversant with the place where the poem was transacted, gave them a greater relish than we can have at present of several parts of it; as it affected their imaginations more strongly, and diffused through the whole narration a greater air of truth. The places stood as so many marks and testimonies to the veracity of the story that was told of them, and helped the reader to impose upon himself in the credibility of the relation. To consider only that passage in the 8th Æneid, where the poet brings his hero acquainted with Evander, and gives him a prospect of that circuit of ground, which was afterwards covered with the metropolis of the world. The story of Cacus, which he there gives us at large, was probably raised on some old confused tradition of the place, and if so, was doubly entertaining to a Roman, when he saw it worked up into so noble a

piece of poetry, as it would have pleased an Englishman, to have seen in Prince Arthur any of the old traditions of Guy varied and beautified in an episode, had the chronology suffered the author to have led his hero into Warwickshire on that occasion. The map of the place, which was afterwards the seat of Rome, must have been wonderfully pleasing to one that lived upon it afterwards, and saw all the alterations that happened in such a compass of ground: two passages in it are inimitably fine, which I shall here transcribe, and leave the reader to judge what impressions they made on the imagination of a Roman, who had every day before his eyes the capitol and the forum.

Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem & capitolia ducit
Aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.
Jam tum Religio pavidos terrebat agrestes
Dira loci, jam tum silvam saxumq; tremebant.
Hoc nemus, hunc, inquit, frondoso vertice collem,
Quis Deus, incertum est, habitat Deus. Arcades ipsum
Credunt se vidisse Jovem: Cum sæpe nigrantem
Ægida concuteret dextrâ, nimbosq; cieret.

And afterwards,

——————ad tecta subibant
Pauperis Evandri, passimq; armenta videbant
Romanoq; foro & lautis mugire carinis.

There is another engaging circumstance that made Virgil and Homer more particularly charming to their own countrymen, than they can possibly appear to any of the moderns; and this they took hold of by chusing their heroes out of their own nation: for by this means they have humoured and delighted the vanity of a Grecian or Roman reader, they have powerfully engaged him on the hero's side, and made him, as it were, a party in every action; so that the narration renders him more intent, the happy events raise a greater pleasure in him, the passionate part more moves him, and in a word, the whole poem comes more home, and touches him more nearly, than it would have done, had the scene lain in another country,

and a foreigner been the subject of it. No doubt but the inhabitants of Ithaca preferred the Odysses to the Iliad, as the Myrmidons, on the contrary, were not a little proud of their Achilles. The men of Pylos probably could repeat word for word the wise sentences of Nestor: and we may well suppose Agamemnon's countrymen often pleased themselves with their prince's superiority in the Greek confederacy. I believe, therefore, no Englishman reads Homer or Virgil with such an inward triumph of thought, and such a passion of glory, as those who saw in them the exploits of their own countrymen or ancestors. And here, by the way, our Milton has been more universally engaging in the choice of his persons, than any other poet can possibly be. He has obliged all mankind, and related the whole species[a] to the two chief actors in his poem. Nay, what is infinitely more considerable, we behold in him, not only our ancestors, but our representatives. We are really engaged in their adventures, and have a personal interest in their good or ill success. We are not only their offspring, but sharers in their fortunes; and no less than our own eternal happiness, or misery, depends on their single conduct: so that every reader will here find himself concerned, and have all his attention and solicitude raised, in every turn and circumstance of the whole poem.

If the ancients took a greater pleasure in the reading of their poets than the moderns can, their pleasure still rose higher in the perusal of their orators; though this I must confess proceeded not so much from their precedence to us in respect of time, as judgment. Every city among them swarmed with rhetoricians, and every senate-house was almost filled with orators; so that they were perfectly well versed in all the rules of rhetoric, and perhaps knew several secrets in the art that let them into such beauties of Demosthenes, or

[a] *Related the whole species, &c.*] We say, one man is *related* to another, but we do not use the verb *relate* actively, in the sense here given to it. He should have said—"he has obliged all mankind by making the whole species related to the two chief actors of his poem."

Cicero, as are not yet discovered by a modern reader. And this I take to have been the chief reason of that wonderful efficacy we find ascribed to the ancient oratory, from what we meet with in the present; for, in all arts, every man is most moved with the perfection of them, as he understands them best. Now, the rulers of Greece and Rome had generally so well accomplished themselves in the politer parts of learning, that they had a high relish of a noble expression, were transported with a well-turned period, and not a little pleased to see a reason urged in its full force. They knew how proper such a passage was to affect the mind, and by admiring it, insensibly begot in themselves such a motion as the orator desired. The passion arose in them unawares, from their considering the aptness of such words to raise it. Accordingly, we find the force of Tully's eloquence shewed itself most on Cæsar, who probably understood it best; and Cicero himself was so affected with Demosthenes, that 'tis no wonder when he was asked, which he thought the best of his orations, he should reply, The longest. But now the generality of mankind are so wholly ignorant of the charms of oratory, that Tully himself, who guided the lords of the whole earth at his pleasure, were he now living, and a speaker in a modern assembly, would not, with all that divine pomp and heat of eloquence, be able to gain over one man to his party. The vulgar, indeed, of every age, are equally moved by false strains of rhetoric, but they are not the persons I am here concerned to account for.

The last circumstance I shall mention, which gave the ancients a greater pleasure in the reading of their own authors than we are capable of, is that knowledge they had of the sound and harmony of their language, which the moderns have at present a very imperfect notion of. We find, even in music, that different nations have different tastes of it, and those who most agree have some particular manner and graces proper to themselves, that are not so agreeable to a foreigner: whether or no it be that, as the temper of the climates

varies, it causes an alteration in the animal spirits, and the organs of hearing; or as such passions reign most in such a country, so the sounds are most pleasing that most affect those passions; or that the sounds, which the ear has ever been most accustom'd to, insensibly conform the secret texture of it to themselves, and wear in it such passages as are best fitted for their own reception; or, in the last place, that our national prejudice, and narrowness of mind, makes every thing appear odd to us that is new and uncommon: whether any one, or all of these reasons may be looked upon as the cause, we find by certain experience, that what is tuneful in one country, is harsh and ungrateful in another. And if this consideration holds in musical sounds, it does much more in those that are articulate, because there is a greater variety of syllables than of notes, and the ear is more accustomed to speech than songs. But had we never so good an ear, we have still a faultering tongue, and a kind of impediment in our speech. Our pronunciation is without doubt very widely different from that of the Greeks and Romans; and our voices, in respect of theirs, are so out of tune, that, should an ancient hear us, he would think we were reading in another tongue, and scarce be able to know his own composure, by our repetition of it. We may be sure, therefore, whatever imaginary notions we may frame to ourselves, of the harmony of an author, they are very different from the ideas which the author himself had of his own performance.

Thus we see how time has quite worn out, or decayed, several beauties[a] of our ancient authors; but to make a little amends for the graces they have lost, there are some few others which they have gathered from their great age and antiquity in the world. And here we may first observe, how very few passages in their style appear flat and low to a modern reader, or carry in them a mean and vulgar air of expression;

[a] *Decayed several beauties*] It is not exact, to use the verb *decay* actively.

which certainly arises, in a great measure, from the death and disuse of the languages in which the ancients compiled their works. Most of the forms of speech made use of in common conversation, are apt to sink the dignity of a serious style, and to take off from the solemnity of the composition that admits them; nay, those very phrases, that are in themselves highly proper and significant, and were at first, perhaps, studied and elaborate expressions, make but a poor figure in writing, after they are once adopted into common discourse, and sound over-familiar to an ear that is every where accustomed to them. They are too much dishonoured by common use, and contract a meanness, by passing so frequently through the mouths of the vulgar. For this reason, we often meet with something of a baseness in the styles of our best English authors, which we cannot be so sensible of in the Latin and Greek writers; because their language is dead, and no more used in our familiar conversations; so that they have now laid aside all their natural homeliness and simplicity, and appear to us in the splendour and formality of strangers. We are not intimately enough acquainted with them, and never met with their expressions but in print, and that too on a serious occasion; and therefore find nothing of that levity or meanness in the ideas they give us, as they might convey[a] into their minds, who used them as their mother-tongue. To consider the Latin poets in this light, Ovid, in his Metamorphosis, and Lucan, in several parts of him, are not a little beholden to antiquity, for the privilege I have here mentioned, who would appear but very plain men without it; as we may the better find, if we take them out of their numbers, and see how naturally they fall into low prose. Claudian and Statius, on the contrary, whilst they endeavour too much to deviate from common and vulgar phrases, clog their verse with unnecessary epithets, and swell their style with forced unnatural ex-

[a] *As they might convey*] The correlative to *that* is not *as*, but, *which*.

pressions, 'till they have blown it up into bombast; so that their sense has much ado to struggle through their words. Virgil, and Horace, in his Odes, have run between these two extremes, and made their expressions very sublime, but at the same time very natural. This consideration, therefore, least affects them, for, though you take their verse to pieces, and dispose of their words as you please, you still find such glorious metaphors, figures, and epithets, as give it too great a majesty for prose, and look something like the ruin of a noble pile, where you see broken pillars, scattered obelisks, maimed statues, and a magnificence in confusion.

And as we are not much offended with the low idiotisms of a dead language, so neither are we very sensible of any familiar words that are used in it; as we may more particularly observe in the names of persons and places. We find in our English writers, how much the proper name of one of our own countrymen pulls down the language that surrounds it,[a] and familiarizeth a whole sentence. For our ears are so often used to it, that we find something vulgar and common in the sound and cant; but[b] fancy the pomp and solemnity of style too much humbled and depressed by it. For this reason, the authors of poems and romances, who are not tied up to any particular set of proper names, take the liberty of inventing new ones, or at least of chusing such as are not used in their own country; and, by this means, not a little maintain the grandeur and majesty of their language. Now the proper names of a Latin or Greek author have the same effect upon us as those of a romance, because we meet with them no where else but in books. Cato, Pompey, and Marcellus, sound as great in our ears, who have none of their families among us, as Agamemnon, Hector, and Achilles; and therefore,

[a] *Pulls down the language that surrounds it,*] Another instance of expression purely *Addisonian.*

[b] *But*] It should be—*and.*

though they might flatten an oration of Tully to a Roman reader, they have no such effect upon an English one. What I have here said, may perhaps give us the reason why Virgil, when he mentions the ancestors of three noble Roman families, turns Sergius, Memmius, and Cluentius, which might have degraded his verse too much, into Sergestus, Mnestheus, and Cloanthus, though the three first would have been as high and sonorous to us as the other.

But though the poets could make thus free with the proper names of persons, and in that respect enjoyed a privilege beyond the prose writers; they lay both under an equal obligation, as to the names of places: for there is no poetical geography, rivers are the same in prose and verse; and the towns and countries of a romance differ nothing from those of a true history. How oddly, therefore, must the name of a paltry village sound to those who were well acquainted with the meanness of the place; and yet how many such names are to be met with in the catalogues of Homer and Virgil? Many of their words must, therefore, very much shock the ear of a Roman or Greek, especially whilst the poem was new; and appear as meanly to their own countrymen, as the duke of Buckingham's Putney Pikes and Chelsea Curiaseers do to an Englishman. But these their catalogues have no such disadvantageous sounds in them to the ear of a modern, who scarce ever hears of the names out of the poet, or knows any thing of the places that belong to them. London may sound as well to a foreigner, as Troy or Rome; and Islington, perhaps, better than London to them who have no distinct ideas arising from the names. I have here only mentioned the names of men and places; but we may easily carry the observation further, to those of several plants, animals, &c. Thus, where Virgil compares the flight of Mercury to that of a water-fowl, Servius tells us, that he purposely omitted the word Mergus, that he might not debase his style with it; which, though it might have offended the niceness of a Roman ear, would have sounded

more tolerably in ours. Scaliger, indeed, ridicules the old scholiast for his note; because, as he observes, the word Mergus is used by the same poet in his Georgics. But the critic should have considered that, in the Georgics, Virgil studied description more than majesty; and therefore might justly admit a low word into that poem, which would have disgraced his Æneid, especially when a god was to be joined with it in the comparison.

As antiquity thus conceals what is low and vulgar in an author, so does it draw a kind of veil over any expression that is strained above nature, and recedes too much from the familiar forms of speech. A violent Grecism, that would startle a Roman at the reading of it, sounds more natural to us, and is less distinguishable from other parts of the style. An obsolete, or a new word, that made a strange appearance at first to the reader's eye, is now incorporated into the tongue, and grown of a piece with the rest of the language. And as for any bold expressions in a celebrated ancient, we are so far from disliking them, that most readers single out only such passages as are most daring, to commend; and take it for granted, that the style is beautiful and elegant, where they find it hard and unnatural. Thus has time mellowed the works of antiquity, by qualifying, if I may so say, the strength and rawness of their colours, and casting into shades the light that was at first too violent and glaring for the eye to behold with pleasure.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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